XVI.

EARLY ITALIAN MAPS OF IRELAND FROM 1300 TO 1600, WITH NOTES ON FOREIGN SETTLERS AND TRADE.

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.

Plates XLII–XLV.

Read December 9, 1912. Published February 26, 1913.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. The Portolan Maps—their problems,	363
2. The types of the Maps,	365
3. The text of the Maps,	370
4. Foreigners in Ireland and the wine trade, before 1170,	372
5. The same after 1170,	376
6. The Irish Ports,	390
7. The Customs,	402
8. Irish shipping—1170–1300,	405
9. The Cartographers,	405
10. List of Maps used,	408
11. The place-names,	411
12. Appendix (*a*) Irish Maps (*b*) Customs and dues,	426

It is a noteworthy fact that in or about the beginning of the fourteenth century a series of practical maps began to appear in Italy.[1] They were in many respects far from accurate, probably formed by building up small sketch-maps like the "skipper maps" of the late thirteenth century (some of which remain, showing portions of the shores of the Mediterranean); but they form the most important contribution to detailed geography since the great work of Ptolemy appeared in the middle of the second century. They made a bold departure from all that had gone before. Compared with the maps of Beatus[2] in the eighth century, of Edrisi about 1154, or of Richard of Haldingham[3] about 1280

[1] While using any published editions of these maps, I rely especially on the great Atlases of Count A. E. Nordenskiöld; "Periplus: an essay on the early history of Charts, &c.," translated by G. A. Bather, 1897; and "Facsimile Atlas: the early history of Cartography," translated by A. Ekelop and C. R. Markham, 1889; and F. Ongania, "Verz. einer Sammlung von Welt- und Seekarten des xiii, xiv, und xv Jahrhunderts."

[2] The so-called "St. Severus" version of the late eighth-century map of Beatus (dating 1050) shows an oval continent, with long, angular, and curved isles: Tile, Trithe, Britannia, Hibernia, Gades and Insulae Fortunatarum, the last off Africa. There were several early maps that ignored the British Isles altogether—e.g., that in the Liber Guidonis (No. 3898, Burgundian Library, Brussels), dated 1119.

[3] Outlines in previous paper, Proc. R.I.A., vol. xxx (C), pp. 238, 240.

they show a wonderful knowledge of the coasts outside the Mediterranean, and are truly harbingers of the dawn of that great revival of learning, discovery, and commerce by which our modern states and life arose. In these, from a very early period, Ireland was not neglected; and I attempt in this paper (even if crudely and imperfectly) to try to attract Irish scholars to the large, fascinating, and almost unexplored fields, of which I only cross the borderland. It is a subject on whose issues it is easy to say too much or too little; I think it better to risk the first danger, and trust to the reader's tolerance.

If we take the Haldingham map at Hereford Cathedral and compare it with one of the "Portolan maps," a generation later, the contrast is most striking. The earlier map is a marvel of erudition and such geographical knowledge as men could acquire in a cloister; it is marked by a considerable knowledge of the Bible, the classics, and writers down to Orosius. We see in its centre Jerusalem, with the Crucifixion, the central point of the world in all the minds of mediaeval Europe. We see Eden at the top, in the land of sunrise; the Tower of Babel, the Labyrinth of Crete, the shell-like whirlpool of Charybdis, the conspicuous Red Sea (painted scarlet), and a crowd of strange men, monsters, and animals. Now let us turn to the Pisan map of 1300 to 1306, or those of Carignano, Vesconte, or Dulcert, all falling within the same thirty years. The outline of Europe is mainly correct; where the earlier map attaches importance to irrelevant matters, the later ones are strictly practical. The cartographers attached little importance to monsters, Scripture events, or "the anthropophagi, and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders"; but, while sometimes showing them, they regarded as all-important the close-packed fringe of names along the coasts. These were derived from seafarers, and compiled for seafarers, showing the way from port to port, as the epithet *portolano* implied,[1] not by monks, to amuse the aimless studies of the learned; although the draughtsmen were usually monks like Carignano, Bianco, and Fra Mauro. Pilgrims going to the Holy Land through France and Italy may have helped; but it is doubtful, and there seems to be no evidence.

The "original map" is unknown;[2] so far as Ireland is concerned, the series of names is so closely similar in the lesser (as well as in the more obvious)

[1] *Portolano* is also used for a sailing directory or book of courses; it is here used (as by Nordenskiöld) for a coasting-map. These maps are very numerous: some 400 are mentioned in "Studi biographici della Geografia in Italia" (Uzielli and Amat. di S. Filippo Roma, 1882, vol. ii"; "Mappamundi, Portolani," &c.); "Facsimile Atlas," p. 46; also Kretschmer's "Italian Portolans" and Fischer's lists.

[2] Nordenskiöld adopts the name "Normal Portolan" for it. The fourteenth-century maps are from one original. The knowledge of Greenland points to an early date before communication ceased between it and Scandinavia; the name-indications point to about 1290.

features that we can hardly doubt their derivation from the same exemplar. The Pisan Map and that of Petrus Vesconte do not give Ireland; and the first has a very inaccurate figure of England; but it and Ireland in Carignano's map, though nearly illegible from stains, are recognizable in outline, more so even than in Dulcert. I have been unable to find any attempt at proportion in the early maps of Ireland, though scales and measuring slips appear in some. The chief ports, as well as towns and islands, are shown up the east coast and round to the Bann, and round the south and west coasts up to Teelin, with considerable fullness and correct succession; but Donegal seems to be almost unknown, as if trade barely reached its opposite borders from opposite directions. Outside all lie the mythical Brasil and Dathuli, which learned men denied to be real, but which the foreign trader (like the Irish coast-dweller) held in firm belief till the time foretold by Seneca came, and "the ocean relaxed its bonds, and a vast continent lay open." The men who made these maps should be gratefully remembered in our nation (that has so far ignored them) as the "unsung heroes" of commerce and peace. They, or their informants, faced the vast dangers of the sea without compass or science, in little coasting vessels; and the dangers were all the greater for being unknown. The traders from 1200 broke down more and more the walls of prejudice between nation and nation, and were the true founders of new colonies and empires greater than those of Greece, Carthage, and Rome. It is only by close study that we can even begin to appraise their worth, and the extent of our debt of gratitude to these men.

1. The Portolan Maps: their Problems.

A number of problems arise in connexion with the study of the Portolan Maps; each deserves specialist study; none can be adequately treated here. I merely give enough to show their extent and bearing on the main subject. Of these, the most important are the rise and extension of the foreign trade with Ireland; the question whether the Italians derived their information directly from their own mariners, or whether the native Irish, the Norse, the Flemings, or the Normans supplied it; why some of the greater ports, like Galway, are passed over, while little insignificant harbours appear; why certain islands assume such importance and others (larger and, to our ideas, of equal importance) are omitted; why Limerick and New Ross, alone of the inland towns, were given; and a number of other problems which I need not enumerate, but will endeavour to solve in the course of the paper.

The first question we must study at some length, for all turns upon it. The second can be more briefly dealt with as being partly answered by our

notes on the first. There was certainly direct communication, apart from churchmen,[1] between Florence and Ireland, while the Venetian map-makers can be shown to have worked in and for the city of Dante. On the other hand, most of the places marked were well known to the Anglo-Normans; but distinctive Irish and Norman names are unrecorded, though such forms as *le deng* (Dingle), *le bano* (Bannow), *l'cocolo* (Youghal, Eochoill, Eochla), *le ban* (The Bann), show a "French" (? Anglo-Norman) influence. On the other hand, why do the early maps never give such characteristic Norman forms as Kinsale (till 1450), Dungarvan (till 1450), Limerick (till 1385), Weiseford, Wykinglo, and Drogheda? The omission of certain names is explicable. Galway was not a trading centre of much importance till too late to affect the early maps, nor was Kinsale, though its harbour of Endelford was too important a shelter for the traders to omit. Similarly, though Ullerford was most important, Larne on its shore never became a seat of trade. After 1450 both appear on the maps. It is clear that the traders up the west coast went direct from Dingle to Aran, on to Bofin, and thence to Achill Sound or Clew Bay, passing the mouth of Galway Bay, and not going up to its head.[2] The islands were evidently regarded (so to say) as buoys to mark the channel and keep ships from wandering into the dreaded outer sea. Dorsey, Skellig, Blasket, Aran, and Bofin (pre-eminently suitable for this purpose) appear from the beginning on all the maps.

The customs returns from New Ross and the wine trade with Limerick account for the marking of these towns on the fourteenth-century maps; places like Cashel, Kilkenny, Athlone, and Armagh were disregarded by the seafarers. It is only on a clerical map like Haldingham's that we find Armagh, "Arthmacho, civitas S. Patr."; Bangor, "civitas bencurr"; and Kildare, "Celdara, civitas S^ce brigide." The appearance of Dublin, "civitas de uelin," is probably due to its archbishopric, while the rivers *Schene* and *Bande* and the *Welabri* and *Luceni* are from Orosius.[3] Ulster, "Ulvest," is alone unexplained. Deeper study into local history should account for the additions and omissions of the later (fifteenth-century) maps. The dates of building of churches, monasteries, and bridges in places omitted in the earlier maps show the rise of the town's prosperity, and (as in the case of Galway and Kinsale) account for their later insertion. When we read of Henry IV

[1] I have thought it better to pass by this other very important line of communication. Those practically interested in the maps were sailors and merchants. The learned classes rarely did more than play with the subject.

[2] Galway may have brought goods from Aran according to legend.

[3] Orosius, A.D. 417, "ubi Scenae ostium est," "ubi Velabri, Lucenique consistunt." The first may be Inbher Scene, not the Shannon. See Mr. Goddard Orpen's paper on Ptolemy's Map, Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir., xxiv, p. 115.

establishing a trading company at Ardglas, and see the remains of its extensive fortified "factory,"[1] we no longer wonder at the appearance of the other-time obscure little place on the maps after 1450.

I am but too well aware how scantily I can deal with such details. Being (I believe) the first of its kind in Ireland, I lay this before the Academy, hoping the result, though imperfect, may induce younger men to specialize in the subjects passed over so slightly here, and sure that it will at least add a helpful aid to the study of topography and Irish names in the text of the portolans.

2. TYPES OF THE MAPS.

Of course the old maps of Ireland are very defective save as a list of harbours.[2] What their predecessors were we do not know. The portions relating to the Mediterranean and the outer coasts of France, Spain, the Low Countries, and even southern England were far more advanced. The Mediterranean part is fairly accurate in Edrisi's maps; and St. Louis is said to have used a portolan in his crusade in 1270; but the earliest dated portolan known to us is that of Petrus Vesconte in 1311, though those of Carignano and the anonymous Pisan cartographer are at least five to ten years earlier. As we noted, Haldingham shows little or no acquaintance with our island comparable with his successors fifteen years later. His predecessors were, if possible, less helpful: take for example, the map possibly eighty years earlier in an early "edition" of Giraldus Cambrensis, where we find a carrot-shaped Britannia and a somewhat hour-glass-shaped Hibernia with no names, even of the chief towns or features. Such maps were only valuable as marking a vague desire for maps and topographical information. It was evidently in the reign of Edward II that the foreign knowledge of Ireland began, and (we may say) ended, till about 1450. None of the early maps are more than diagrams, save in one particular—Clew Bay. They omitted the great bays of Galway, the Shannon's mouth, Dingle, Kenmare, Cork Harbour, Carlingford, Strangford, Belfast Lough, and the Foyle. They placed the "corners" of Ireland at the Isle of Tirconnell (? Torry), Rachrin, the Saltees, and Dorsey. Misled by the sharp trend of the coast northward from

[1] "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing," Mrs. A. Stopford Green (ed. 1909), p. 15. Dalkey also seems a case in point.

[2] For all this see Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*, p. 16; Jomard's *Monuments de la Géographie* and *Choix des documents géographiques* (Paris, 1883); and *Les origines de la cartographie de l'Europe septentrionale* (Paris, 1888); Joseph Fischer, S.J., *The Discoveries of the Norsemen* (transl. B. H. Soulsby, 1903), gives a long catalogue of extant portolanos and bibliography; and Ferdinand Ongania gives photographs of seventeen of these maps. See also Konrad Kretschmer, *The Italian Portolans of the Middle Ages.*

Dunlibhain (the Tower of Hook), they made that point the end of the east coast, bringing Bannow, Fethard, and Tuskar into its line. The scales, we saw, are not applicable to Ireland; even proportion is not attempted. Perhaps the long distances between the fewer chief points on the west coast "balanced" the numerous short ones on the east. If we compare a portolan with a modern map, we find some curious "equations." A reach of 15 miles equals 100; a distance of 60 actual miles equals 80, 90, or 100 in the 1339 map; 40, 90, and 140 are equal in that of 1384; 40, 70, 80, and 105 are equal in the 1450 portolan. This compels one to neglect any reference to scales in the identifications. This early type continued to be recopied, with added errors, but few additions of fact, down to 1600; we have even Arabic portolans of the later date, similar in outline to those of Carignano and Dulcert.

A second type arose about 1430, perhaps originating from the brilliant brief reign of Henry V. It shows that it comes from an independent source. "Guinsala" Kinsale) now replaces Andelforda, and "Langra," or Larne, Ullerford, Galway, Erris, the Stags, Sligo, Teelin (if not the *comicitelu* of the early school), Iniskea, "Anirona," Black Head, Ventry, The Bull, Baltimore, Corcala, the Seven Castles, Dalkey, Howth, and Ardglas now appear; while the once important Bannow, Arklow, Timoleague, and Knockfergus are ignored. I give as examples the Upsal map, not later than 1450; De la Cosa, 1500, and Agnesi, 1544; but the type is widespread. The west coast is now fairly accurate as a sketch-map; but this superficial accuracy was far more dangerous than the crudeness of the first type. It was the second type of map, for example, that, failing to show the bold projection of Connacht, led Medina-Sidonia to lay down a line of retreat for the Armada in 1588 so close to the coast that many of the huge ships got embayed from Sligo to Cape Clear.[1]

From about 1480 onward a disturbing element is felt, indicating interference of the learned classes, and the revival of the Ptolemaic geography.[2] "Ptolemy, pure and simple," was hardly known; names from his maps got into the sea-maps, while many names (even the mythic Brasil) are seen on the supposed Ptolemy maps of the sixteenth century—maps with such titles as

---

[1] See the appalling accounts of the English officials in Connacht, and of Captain Cuellar. Fenton tells of 1100 dead bodies on one beach; and the peasantry said the like was to be seen in other places. The sandhills are full of human remains.

[2] Of course Ptolemy was "remembered at intervals" down the ages. A fine copy of the twelfth century for example was preserved in the Monastery of Vatopedi in Athos, but Ireland is not mapped. "*Geographie de Ptolemée*." Paris, 1867. Victor Langlois, also "Science and Art in the Middle Ages," p. 262. His popularity dates from the translated edition of his book into Latin about 1410. After that numerous manuscript copies were made, though it was not printed till after 1472; but the earliest edition (possibly by accident) is dated mcclxii.

"Ptolemaeus improved" or "augmented." From these arose awkward fancy maps, Ireland becoming pear- or spindle-shaped, and the names corrupted almost past recognition. The long spindle-shape is found in the maps by Marino Sanudo (supposed early fourteenth century),[1] Ptolemaeus Ulmae, 1482; Ruysch "Ptolemy," 1508; Sylvani "Ptolemy," 1511; Cracow "Ptolemy," 1512; Jacob Zeigler, 1532; Pedro de Medina, 1548 to 1566; and Sigurd Stephani, 1570.

Early Ptolemy Maps. Bologna, "1472," and Rome, 1490.

A very curious and unusual map was supervised by Michael Servetus ("Villanovus") in a "Ptolemy," edited 1525, and published ten years later at Lyons. This atlas, it is believed, aided not a little the heresy of its unfortunate editor to secure his cruel doom. It is full of unnecessary offence—e.g. "Germania producit—Hungaria, boves; Bavaria, sues; Svecia, meretrices; Boemia, hereticos; Vestfalia, falaces; tota denique Germania et totus Septentrio, gulones et portatores."[2] Ireland, though shown, is fortunately

[1] "Facsimile Atlas," p. 51.

[2] "Facsimile Atlas," p. 23. The excuse was a passage on the sterility and worthlessness of the Holy Land, which had only been copied from other maps (1522 and 1535), where it had caused no scandal.

not described. Lafreri,[1] in 1588, gave his impression of "Hibernia, in oceano, inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita." He gives the provinces, Momonia, Conacia, Ultonia, and Lagenia. The west is to the top; Catagia (Corcagia, Cork) to the S.W.; Vilcow (Wicklow), S.E.; Surus Flu; Waterfordia; Charrus Cahir?), Carigium (Carrick-on-Suir). Kildarra; Triperara (on the S. Bank of the Liffey!); Dublinum; Vball; Dodalt (Drogheda); Dondaff (Dundalk); Arglas; Bandus Flu; Lacus Foilus; Purgatorium S. Patricii; Limerick (at Loop Head!); and Galuia. He was assisted by Jacob Gastaldus; but if the latter drew the above map, Irishmen will scarcely endorse his contemporaries' estimate, "Ecclentissimo cosmografo Piamontese." I give these merely to show the numerous types and their inaccuracy when compared with the two earlier forms, but make no further use of them.

Map of Lafreri, 1588.

A new school arose in England soon after 1560. It was constantly reinforced by new original maps, and is for the first time equally concerned with the coast and with inland names. It was a map for statesmen and generals, adapted for military expeditions, not (like its predecessors) peaceful in intention, and made for scholars and commerce. Its maps are only used by me to help to identify names on the older maps. Closely akin to it are the Ortelius and other maps of the same period. They evidently reacted on each other about 1580 to 1600; some of them resemble the second type,

[1] Lafreri's map. *Ibid.*, p. 123. An earlier map (of the fifteenth century), "Christopher Ensenius, Buondelmonte," shows some of the inland towns. It is given in *Periplus*, plate xxxiii. Unfortunately it is small, and somewhat out of focus; but it is of the "normal portolan" type. The Ptolemaic names Regia, Regia (altera), and Reba can be seen on it; and portolan names like dunsobrin, porto-rosso, monesi, chenog-fud, Rigara, and fedit,

possibly by accident. This fourth type continued till the Down Survey maps brought in a more accurate variety, though far less rich—at least in sea-coast names. The new school may be said to commence for Ireland in the issue of Sir W. Petty's *Hibernia Delineata* in 1683, the maps on which it is founded dating 1652-1657.[1]

The errors of the early maps suggest how beset with doubt, fear, and danger must have been the approach of ships to our coasts with only such charts to guide them. It may be well to select a few actual cases from the vivid records of the Armada in 1588.

Juan de Saavedra wrote[2] to King Philip from the great galeass, Zuniga (which through countless dangers had reached Havre). He tells how they had got into good anchorage at Tue (probably the *Bue*, i.e. Bire, Berehaven of the maps), twelve leagues from the Cape (Clear), the inhabitants being "all rustic savages,"[3] and attached to the English. The crew, though the helm was broken, accordingly put out to sea, got lost, and found themselves in an uninhabited creek near a tower held by the enemy, they never knew where; thence they escaped with difficulty. It is only from the letters of the Sheriff of Thomond[4] that we learn that it was at Coolrone Bay, near Liscannor Castle, in Co. Clare, far to the northward of their starting-point for the south.

Marcos de Aramburo[5] tells how the *San Juan Bautista* sighted land two hours before daylight. Some thought it was the Drosey Islands, others the Quelles;[6] the pilot thought "the Ox and Cow," eight leagues from the Cape. None of these guesses proved correct; they came into the Blasket Sound. Of course the trading-vessels once they reached Ireland could creep along a friendly coast from harbour to harbour, as they found them marked on their portolans, and met help and information at every point.

None of the maps given in this paper show the northern Cape Clear,[7] so often referred to by the Spaniards, unless it be the *Cligra* of some maps, the Cap Seligra in the older maps. This corresponds to Cap Cleara, which was passed by Alonzo de Leyva in his ill-starred voyage from Killybegs to his doom at the Giant's Causeway, and so far is suitable to the Seligra of the

[1] The splendid collection in the Fagel Library, Trinity College, Dublin, shows how strongly the Continental maps were affected by Speed from 1620, and by Petty from 1690.

[2] Calendar Spanish State Papers, Oct., 1588.

[3] This unflattering term is also applied to the Scotch, e.g. "a savage who spoke Latin," *ibid.*, p. 506. Cuellar speaks of "a bishop dressed like a savage." Our own term "outlandish" belongs to the same narrow thought.

[4] Cal. State Papers Ireland, 1588. See my notes in Journal of the Limerick Field Club, iii, p. 194.

[5] See Rev. W. S. Green's paper, Proc. R.I.A. xxvii (C), p. 264.

[6] See infra in next section, p. 37.

[7] Froude, "Spanish Story of the Armada" (ed. 1892), p. 76, identifies it with Clare Island.

portolans. Froude is evidently wrong in identifying it with Cliara, or Clare Island, which is not one of the salient points of the coast lying far back within Achill Head, the Cap d'Aquilla of the maps.

3. The Text of the Portolans.

In attempting to identify the names on the maps, I tabulated all my material into columns. This immediately excluded many plausible identifications, by showing that the doubtful name lay farther along the coast, and sometimes tied it down to a space a few miles long between two known points. This also obviated the results of badly copied names in the old maps which appear even in the earliest copies. The majority of the names identify themselves at the first glance, and others on even the slightest study of the Irish names—so Draueri is seen to be Dairbhre, or Valentia Island; Glenbaron (or Glenbaton) to be Glenberchon (or Glenbarron), i.e. Castlehaven; leocolo, Eochaill (or Youghal); Dondiab (or Dondub), Dundubhain (Rinndubhain), or Hook. Knowledge of local pronunciation also helps us, as, e.g., Corran for Carn, Corborg for Carbery. On the other hand, a number of most corrupt names[1] give but little trouble when the maps are compared:—Laionel, Riscon, Araxas, Mocora, Brotin, Dimeri, and Drassert equate with Terconel, Rachrin, Estacas, Leocolo, Arani, Limeric, and Draueri on other maps, and these are easily identified with Tirconnell, Rathlin, the Stags, Youghal, Aran, Limerick and Valentia, or Dairbhre. Ferestin is found to be Belcotin, or Ballycottin, and Risalt, Tiscalt or Tuskar. Drogheda (its name then, as ever since, a stumbling-block to non-Irish men) yields such forms as Drogai and Drigodella; Waterford, Gataforda or Zataford; Wexford, Achefort, Arifod, Ocsola, Ogorda, and even Cossard; Wicklow hardly less corruptly as Ayello, Vizello, and Uidibla. Rarely, however, is a name equivocal, as "Califord," which is Carlingford in the Dulcert and most other maps, but is Strangford in Homen's map, which makes Carlingford "Carlefor." The name for Carrickfergus (or Knockfergus) is interesting, "Chenockfirg," showing that it was pronounced fully, as at the present time the modern map-name "Nicker" is locally K-nicker, i.e., Conigar. "Ulrford" in Freducci's map closely follows the correct form Ullerford *Ullarba* in Irish, and now Larne Lough. Larne itself is "Langra." Only by comparison when we find the old "momer" (or "moneri") represented by "mono-arger" do we recognize Bonamargy. Acquaintance with the Irish Chancery Rolls shows that Andelforda is the Endilforth or harbour of Kinsale. There are,

[1] Similarly in the English names, after the first shock, we easily identify *Gingalaxco* with Winchelsea, *Huic*, with Wight, *Chaestra* with Exeter, or *Sentuoi* with Sandwich.

however, puzzling names, where neither natural feature nor ancient place name, or town, remains to suggest a local habitation for the map-name.

Arceon, Arelcito, and Ardroin lie between Wicklow and Bray; the latter may be some "high ridge"—Ard-drom, perhaps even Bray Head. Confrenchellan[1] and Condarca are in the featureless district between Clew Bay and Killery. When all is done, plenty of unanswered riddles remain over. I commend to students the certain identification of "Cap Seligra" (perhaps Knockafola or Bloody Foreland), "Comicidella" (perhaps cauo de tellin or Teeling Head), "Cap Stronbere" (perhaps Carcorbre, Cahercarbery, or Kerry Head), and Lespor d'Irlanda, which seems to be most probably Bolus Head. I have failed to satisfy myself about the Quelles, Quelmes, or Quelbeg, Island or Islands. They only appear on later maps after 1500. Olives and Homen separate them from the Skelligs (Steilc and Quelles, 1568; Scuella and Qualbos, 1569); these map-makers, Pierre Descelliers, 1546, and Voltius, 1593, agree in putting them north-west from the Bull and Cow; De la Cosa, 1500, gives great Skellig, "S. Michel," as well as "Quelmes." Ortelius in 1589 shows them as the three spiked rocks (Skelligs and Lemon Rock, or Puffin Island); Lawrence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, about 1570, puts the "Skelms" so near the coast between Valencia and Ballinskelligs as to suggest Long Island and Puffin Island. The Voyage to the Azores, in 1588 names the "S. Kelmes" as south from Ventry. On the other hand, the State Papers call the Skelligs, "Skellig Michaell," "the Skyllinges," and "the Skelankes, called S. Michael." The Quelles may be Little Skellig and Puffin Island, which fulfil the known conditions best.

On the south coast, Olarcos and Godelfreda are not (so far) identified, but the latter is between Youghal and Cork Harbour, and so may be Oyster Haven or Ringabella. Up the east coast, besides the names near Bray, "tenal," "Dairhe" (north from Dundalk), "Cape Stet," "Canutor," and "Zibiri"; on the north "Idora" (perhaps I Torei or Torry Island) need identification. The more northern "Logeo" or "losco" is probably Lusk, near Dublin, placed too far up the coast, as Ireland's Eye is on one map.

The verbal forms are changed by no fixed rules. The initial gets omitted or obliterated by a coloured border,[2] as (L)ameri(c), (K)anisala,

[1] Could this be a shelter under Frehill Islet, once (and evidently recently) two or three times its present size, *quasi* "Cauo Frehillan"?

[2] The colours are conventional; gold and purple are said to imply riches, but the islets round Ireland are golden in Agnesi's map, 1545, and Ireland is purple-bordered in Calapoda's map, 1552; the Red Sea is red, Rhodes red with a white cross. Having usually worked on photographs or facsimiles, I cannot state why certain names are in red in Agnesi's map. Where names meet across Ireland, it sometimes obviates confusion.

(S)ordes, (T)ussalt (ch)anifro, &c. Common errors in modern proofs (such as *b* for *l*, *d* for *l*, *m* for *ni*, r for *n*, or *i* for *r*, and *e* for *c*) frequently occur. A curious *c* with a long up-curl gets mistaken for *d*, or the reverse, in later maps (Ardill, Archill, i.e. Achill, Dondiab, and Condiab, Donborg and Corborg). The changes or mistakes of *c* and *t*, or *r* and *l*, are common in the maps, as in the State Records of the same period; *x*, *f*, and *s* are confused in the names of Bofin, *d* and *r* in "disalt" and "rasalt." The frequency of the various errors depends largely on the type of writing in the exemplar, as the short "*t*" in one yields *c*, the long crossed "*t*" in another *l* in the copies.

4. Foreigners in Ireland and the Wine Trade before 1170.

It becomes necessary to show the possible communication between Ireland and Italy, whether direct or indirect, which explains the detailed knowledge of its coasts shown by the portolan maps. Of course, one might naturally look for this in the clergy; but (as I endeavoured to show) the clerical maps differ unmistakably from the others, which are clearly derived from business men. Indirect lines, such as the wine trade and the trade in wool and hides, might be pressed to explain this, while pilgrims and foreigners in the Church (especially under the Angevin Kings) might have taken their share, but we have evidence of direct business relations between Florentines and the Irish, and of the former with Venice, the centre of early cartography which best explains the fact. It may be well to go at some length into the evidence for widespread trade in Ireland in the period preceding the making of the first portolan map. This again necessitates a preface as to commerce before the Norman invasion; but, this being only remotely connected with our subject-matter, I shall condense greatly.

The Romans of the first century before Christ[1] seem to have known little more than the name of Ireland; it was a place inconceivably remote from the great western nursery of civilization round the eastern end of the Mediterranean, like Britain, "cut off from the whole world" as they knew it. Even the Spaniards knew little about Britain, and Strabo, noticing this, about A.D. 25, adds that Ireland is at the very skirt of the habitable world, was scarcely suitable for human settlement, and added strange tales of its

[1] I need not collect the few earlier notices of "Ierne" or "Albion," in Himilco (B.C. 500); "the Holy Island (Hieron), it is inhabited by the people of Hierne" (if Avienus in a fourth-century poem quotes him aright); in Aristotle, a century later, or Pytheas, about B.C. 330, quoted by Strabo, Pliny, and other writers, or the still more doubtful Argonautic poem where the Argo approaches the dangerous "Iernian Islands."

barbarism, confessedly, "without competent authority."[1] To him Britain was triangular, one side parallel to Celtica, while Ireland lay parallel to its northern face.[2] The Romans in Britain tell us little more. Agricola, after meeting the first recorded malcontent Irishman, an expelled "petty king," contemplated its invasion,[3] and (if Juvenal's burning lines are not mere rhetoric) the Romans moved their arms on to the shores of Juverna.[4] Finds of Roman coins and statuettes are not uncommon in Ireland; still I think there is not a trace of recorded mercantile communication in the first century between the two races, though their outposts were in sight of each other.

Things seem different immediately after the close of the century. Tacitus says of Ireland, "melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti." It is doubtful whether the comparison be with the ports of Britain, or between those of the eastern or western coasts of Ireland, or with the customs. Some, indeed, read the passage, "a Britannia differunt, nec in melius," commencing a new sentence with "Aditus." But the fact is unshaken that commerce and trading ships had got in touch with our island by that time. A generation later Ptolemy, after A.D. 144,[5] gives us the position of fifteen river-mouths, five promontories,[6] nine "islands," and several towns—perhaps great forts like Emania (? Regia) and Dunrigh (? Dunum). The great harbour of the Foyle is shown by him, though even the portolans omit it, and the Lagan[7] (Logia, Logan), the Bann (Argita, cf. Moyarget, Co. Antrim), perhaps Carlingford (? Ouenderios), the Boyne (Bououinda), the "Oboka," the Slaney (Modonnos), the Barrow (Birgos, Berbha), Cork Harbour (Dabrona, Sabrona, Sabhrann), Iernos and the Dour (perhaps Kenmare and Tralee), the Shannon (Senos), the Ausoba (perhaps Oirbsen (Galway River), the Libnios (Clew Bay or one of the Mayo havens),

---

[1] Even still the inhabitants of the mainland tell unfounded stories to the discredit of islanders. I have heard evil tales of Iniskea, from people in the Mullet, of Aran in the Co. Clare, and of Blasket in Co. Kerry; and O'Donovan over seventy years ago heard of the paganism and wrecking proclivities of the people of Torry from the inhabitants of Tirconnell, which on the first item were altogether false, the second being unproven.

[2] Julius Caesar (B.C. 55–45) was better informed; he knew that Hibernia lay to the west of Britain, with Mona and other islands between them, but the Britons gave him little information.

[3] "Agrippa," c. 24. Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, about A.D. 43, heard that Ivernia could not ripen corn, but had such rich pasturage that if cattle were not checked they ate till they burst.

[4] "Arma quidem ultra litora Iuvernae promovimus," Sat. 2, v. 159.

[5] His work, often dated A.D. 120, has observations down to the later year. Two helpful Iris papers should be read, one by Mr. G. H. Orpen, Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir., xxiv, and one Mr. J. Mac Neill, New Ireland Review, xxvi (1906–7), p. 6.

[6] He includes, as all know, "Edros" (Ben Edar) or Howth among the islands, but it may have been actually an island before the sea heaped up the low sandy neck behind it.

[7] Or perhaps Belfast Lough, Loch *Laoigh* ("stagnum vituli" in Adamnan).

and the Raquios, which Mr. Orpen inclines to identify as the Eas Ruaith, or Erne, the later *Eas Aedha Ruaidh* or Asheroe.

Turning to native tradition, full of sea expeditions and invasions, we may record the raids of the great King Niall of the Nine Hostages, who, on the border-line of legend and history (379 to 405), invaded Britain. His bold attempt put its mark even on late Roman literature. Claudian, in 396, sang how "the Scot" lashed the northern waves with daring oars, how he "moved all Ierne, and the deep foamed with hostile oar."[1] The invasion was repelled, and "Icy Erin wept the heaps" (or tumuli) of her slain sons.[2] Whatever lies behind the legend of Niall's successor, Dathi, and his raid into Gaul, it is evident that the Irish (like the Veneti in Caesar's day) had a powerful fleet.

Patrick, one of Niall's British captives at the close of the fourth century, revolutionized Ireland, and in so doing brought her into closer touch with Gaul. He himself, in his escape from slavery, found a ship with a crew of heathens,[3] presumably Irish from that fact, bringing Irish hounds to Gaul. In A.D. 433 (if his earliest Life be accurate) he found the High King Loegaire (Niall's son), his sub-kings, and druids, drinking wine at Tara.[4] If so, trade with Gaul was already established. The early laws, probably as early as or earlier than St. Patrick's time, at least in their main features, made full provision for the protection and treatment of foreigners. "Parties from the sea" were cared and watched in a fort after their arrival, their food was to be provided, and the owner of the *port* was to preserve the vessel, and divide its cargo, as the case might be. Should they be cast on the shore, the owner of the port had also to protect, feed, and make general provision for them. Foreign mercenaries, quaintly described as "headless persons," having no chief or natural head, were also protected; there was also an eric fine for a free foreigner, though the lowest of such fines.

The section embodied in the Book of Aicill, about A.D. 640, dealt with trading ships.[5] "Sed" of 6 "screpalls" due from a ship running aground, "where she (the ship) came consigned to a certain person, and it was not unto *his* land they happened to be driven." If she be foreign, the owner of

[1] Claudian, "de tertio consulatu Honorii Augusti," 396; "de quarto cons. Honorii," 398, and "in primum cons. Stilichonis," 400, Lib. II, v. 247. The legion that guarded Britain against the Scoti enjoyed such high repute that it was summoned by Stilicho to defend Rome against the Goths.

[2] Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir. xxiv, p. 118.

[3] St. Patrick's "Confession" and "Lebar Breac Homily." The latter says plainly "a crew of heathens," which is implied in the older document, where they address Patrick as "Christian," and challenge him to pray to his great God, half in contempt.

[4] Tirechan's Annotations (Tripartite Life, Rolls Series, ed. W. Stokes, vol. ii, p. 282, "bibentibus vinum in palatio Temoriae."

[5] "Book of Aicill" (Ancient Laws of Ireland Commission, vol. ii, p. 427).

the land on which she stranded is entitled to a share of "foreign nuts, goblets, and to an *escup* vessel of wine or of honey." The body of the code was revised or compiled by Cennfaeladh, son of Oilell,[1] wounded in the Battle of Magh Rath, A.D. 642.

I need not go into the many early allusions to wine; history and romance are full of them. "A cask of wine from the land of the Franks" was brought to Clonmacnois, in the heart of Ireland, in St. Kieran's lifetime, *ante* 548,[2] and his contemporary, Diarmait mac Cerbaile, is called "a king with whom wine used to be dealt out in splendour." The authorities in Southern Gaul, about A.D. 610, deported St. Columbanus from Nantes to Erin in a ship "engaged in the commerce of the Scots."[4] Domnall, the High King (627–641), provided wine, as well as ale and mead, for his guests, if the wild Saga of "Magh Rath" be correct here. Indeed, the mere need of wine for the Sacrament, especially before the cup was withdrawn from the laity, in about 900, implies a certain amount of trade in wine, and also in foreign fabrics for the vestments of the clergy and the robes of the chiefs.[5]

In the Norse period we frequently hear of wine; Cormac, King-Bishop of Cashel (slain 902), gives in his *Glossary*—"*escopfina*, a vessel used for measuring wine among the Norsemen and Franks."[6] This well defines the route of the wine trade from France through the Norse and Danish seaports. The latter foreigners paid a large wine tribute to the High King Brian (1000–1014) at Kincora near Killaloe. It is said by contemporary writers[7] to have amounted to a cask of 32 gallons each day from Limerick, and 150 casks per annum from Dublin. In the pathetic elegy on the great king by his bard, Mac Liac, we hear, "where are the nobles and sons of kings with whom we drank wine in thy halls?" William of Malmesbury, in the following century, mentions a considerable trade between Bristol and Ireland[8] before

---

[1] Senchus Mór, vol. i, p. 129; vol. iv, p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[3] Life of St. Kieran.

[4] Jonas' "Life of St. Columbanus," cap. xxii, "quae Scottorum commercia vexerat": see Reeves' "Adamnan's Life of St. Columba."

[5] The Irish, too, had far advanced in cosmography; note how the Bishop of Salzburg, an Irishman, taught that the earth was round, and "that there were (inhabitants in the) Antipodes." He was condemned by Pope Boniface, 722. (See, *inter alia*, "Historical and Chronological Deductions of the Origin of Commerce," p. 65.)

[6] Cormac's "Glossary" ed. Whitley Stokes.

[7] Poems of Mac Liac; see "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," vol. ii, pp. 118–121.

[8] "De Gestis Pontificum," Book iv, "Bristowe nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hibernia et Norvegia et caeteris." It was a centre of the slave trade to Ireland in the time of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, who died in 1095; and Earl Robert, after his marriage, in 1119, to the daughter of Robert FitzHamon, raided the surrounding districts, and sold his slaves to the Irish. Nearly a hundred years later the Irish regarded the Norman invasion as a punishment for this vile traffic "in the bodies and souls of men."

1142, in which year Henry, Duke of Normandy, granted to the burgesses of Rouen the right that ships trading with Ireland should only go from and to that port. The imposts on the Irish trade were a "tymbrium" of marten skins from each ship, or (if the owners swore that they had none on board) £20 to the *Viconte* of Rouen and a hawk, or 16 shillings[1] to the chamberlain.[2] The same prince, Henry II, renewed this grant some twenty-four years later after his invasion of Ireland.[3]

In the closing years of the twelfth century Giraldus de Barri "Cambrensis," about 1185, found that the Irish had abundance of wine from Poitou, for which they paid in hides "not ungratefully." He reproached the Irish clergy in 1186 for drinking wine and other beverages after their fasts, but denies that the Irish had any trade—"non aliquis mercemoniorum genere nec ulla mechanicarum artium specie vitam producunt."[4]

5. Commerce and Foreign Merchants after 1170.

With the fuller information after the Norman settlement in Ireland we get minute information as to the foreign trade.[5] Previous writers have little to say. I purpose giving it at some length from 1170 to 1320, or about the time that the early portolan maps begin to appear. Foreign merchants came from Lucca and Louvain to Ireland so early as 1171. The citizens of Dublin sent wine to King John in 1211, and five years later the prices were—for Rochelle wine, 20*s.* a tun; for Anjou wine, 24*s.*; and for the best French wine, 26*s.* 6*d.* to 28*s.* a tun.[6] Judging from the *prise* of wines, £2 a tun and upwards was not considered excessive at the close of the century.

Waterford established a tax on wines in 1222; Drogheda, in 1228; and Limerick in 1237. The *prise* of wines in Dublin was 9 tuns in 1235, that of Drogheda in 1282 was 64 tuns, valued about £2 5*s.* 2*d.* a tun.

As to the foreign merchants, those of Lucca and Flanders were trading with Cork in 1172–1173, and (as we shall see in detail) Ireland had commercial relations with France, Flanders, and the Italian towns,

[1] In Ireland a hawk cost 6/8 in 1229. (Pipe Roll xiii, Hen. III, App. 35, Report Dep. Keeper Records, p. 30, for Dalkey Island). The Blaskets, Valentia, and other islands were held by presenting a hawk. (Plea Rolls, Ed. I.)

[2] "Calendar of Documents, France," vol. i, p. 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35. A charter of 1172 alludes to King Henry's absence "pacificante Iberniam."

[4] Topographia Hiberniae (Rolls Series, vol. v, pp. 28, 150, 151), dist. iii, cap. 10.

[5] John Yeates, "Growth and Viscissitudes of Commerce," p. 137, barely mentions the trade in hides, skins, wool, and fish from Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda.

[6] "Historical and Chronological Deductions of the Origin of Commerce," A. Anderson (1789), p. 26.

especially Lucca and Florence, steadily increasing through the century. When the Magna Charta was granted to Ireland for Henry III in the first year of his reign, possibly in 1216, the clause protecting the foreign merchants was retained—"All merchants, except publicly prohibited," had safe and secure conduct to come to, tarry in, or depart from Ireland; to buy and sell without evil extortion by old and righteous customs. In time of war they were to be attached without harm to bodies or goods until the Chief Justice should know how the merchants of our land were treated by the enemy if they were safe, the others shall be safe here.[1] Henry borrowed money from a vintner in Ardglas in 1260.[2]

The imports and exports of Ireland in 1172 include wine, spices, wax, and almonds; red, scarlet, and green cloth; coverlids and clothing; axes, nails, and spades; canvas, ropes, and timber. As we shall see, a most important class of records, the dues granted for murage, i.e., to enable the towns to build or repair their fortifications, remain from 1233 down. Abstracting those before 1295 we find that they include rates on wine, spices, pepper, almonds, raisins, and figs; wheat, oats, pease, onions, garlic, flour, tallow, cheese, honey, butter, fish (herrings, salmon, lampreys, and conger); furs, wool, and hides (including skins of the squirrel,[3] marten, badger, mountain cat, sheep, lamb, cattle, horses, deer, goats, hares, rabbits, wolves, and foxes); salt, alum, copperas, woad, pitch, soap, coal, millstones, lead, iron, nails, horse-shoes, caldrons, and other kitchen utensils; cloth, linen, silk, gold embroidery, canvas, and cordwain leather. Comfort and even luxury must have been very possible in our towns in the thirteenth century. Kilkenny (a place given on no portolan map known to me) had a rich spice trade in 1282–3; wine, pepper, saffron, ginger, almonds, cummin, figs, and raisins were rated for murage. The Pipe Rolls give many cases of *prise* of wines, from which we can ascertain the cost per hogshead, usually £2 to 50*s.*; Dublin (Castle, 1235), at £2 10*s.* per tun, from 1267 to 1283; Waterford at £2, as also at Drogheda, Dungarvan, Limerick, and Dublin; in all the *prise* amounted to £1798; 1301–1302, £1 was paid the merchant on each tun: the Crown sold each for £3; Cork, 1301, £2 a tun; Dublin, 1303, £2, sold for £3; Drogheda, £2 7*s.* In the reign of Edward II—Drogheda, 1310, £2 3*s.* 9*d.*; Waterford, 1319–1322,

[1] "Early Statutes of Ireland" (ed. Dr. H. F. Berry), p. 77; "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland" (ed. J. T. Gilbert), vol. ii, No. lxiii.

[2] This and the subsequent entries from "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland" (Sweetman) under dates.

[3] For the oft-controverted Irish "squirrel," see Journal Roy. Soc. Antt., Ir., xl, p. 245; besides the murage rates (Waterford, 1244, 1291; Dublin, 1250; Drogheda, 1278; Cork, 1284; Fethard, 1292; Trayli and Moyal, 1286). Nicholas Arthur, 1428; Hakluyt's copy of *Libel of English Policy*, 1416 to 1436; and R. O'Flaherty, 1684, name the animal and distinguish it from the marten.

£2 2*s*. 2½*d*. in 1322, £3 10*s*. 9*d*. and £2 1*s*. on different occasions; two men were paid to guard the wine for the war in Scotland. The *prise* of wine in Wexford in 1333 and 1336 gives no detail.[1] In our present knowledge several of the above transactions are inexplicable. Freight for wine from Dublin to Skymburneys was 5*s*. per tun and 2*s*. 6*d*. per pipe in 1333. Kilmallock, a small inland town, imported 40 hogsheads of wine in 1293; Ardart (the small cathedral town of Ardfert in Kerry), 44 hogsheads and 1 pipe; even in the little port of Dengyn or Dingle (le deng on the earliest maps), the Custom raised a sum of £121 in 1278, and *prise* of wines is recorded at Dungarvan and elsewhere. In 1321, we find in the Plea Rolls questions as to the account of Henry Cod, who was vendor of wines in Cloyne, Co. Cork, for one Theobald.[2]

The Italian firms of merchants, bankers, and moneyers held much of the Irish trade till after 1340, and most of the banking and money-lending and tax-collecting, as well as the mints, was in their hands.[3] Sheriffs, knights abbots of the great Cistercian and other religious houses, and the nobility were frequently in debt, and not infrequently involved in trouble and litigation with the Italian firms. A little later the "mighty victor" of Crecy largely financed his French wars by aid of the Italian merchants; how he broke faith with the latter is one of the bad blots on his reign.

It is, however, more instructive to give details, which I will collect under the cities—and, where that cannot be done, under the countries—of the foreign bankers and traders. The list will show how much intercourse between Ireland, France, Flanders, and Italy took place in the generations by whom the maps were prepared and used.

Bayonne.—In 1296 the "Snake" of Rosponte brought oats and beans from New Ross to the King's army in Gascony. In 1303 the Bayonne merchants were granted the customs on wool and hides in Ireland.[4]

Bordeaux.—In 1235 the wines of certain merchants of Bordeaux were seized at sea and brought to Ireland. Simon de Aqua Mortua of Bordeaux

[1] Pipe Rolls of Ireland under dates; also "A Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland" (Gorges & Howard), Dublin, 1776, Chapter vi. The Irish prisage was 1 tun out of 9 to 18, and over that 2 tuns. In England £1 was paid to the merchant for freight. Howard says that this was not done in Ireland, but the instance in 1301–2 seems to fall under that head (pp. 74, 75).

[2] See Cal. Documents, Ireland, for Dublin, 1233 No. (2405), 1250 (3057), 1295 (260), Waterford 1234 (2133); Cork, 1284 (2248); Drogheda, 1288 (2134); Youghal, 1275 (1164); Kilkenny, 1282–3 (2136); Kilmallock, 1293 (P. 2). See also innumerable entries of *prise* of wines in the Irish Pipe Rolls (App. Rep. Deputy Keeper Records, Ireland, Nos. 36–41). The last entry is in Plea Roll 99, Edw. II, anno v, mem. 17. There was a lawsuit of the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem against John de Harcourt for breaking into the house and cellar of the hospital at Any, Co. Limerick, and seizing bread, wine (I think ale, *c·vis*) and other provisions (Plea Roll 101, Ed. II, mem. 4*d*).

[3] Cal. Doc., Plea Rolls, Pipe Rolls, &c.

[4] Cal. Doc. 1303 (204).

was permitted to trade in wine with Ireland in 1267, with no *prise* other than the ancient custom of one hogshead from before and one from behind the mast. Gayland de Cette, another Bordeaux merchant, traded with Ireland in 1283. In 1312 Richard Chevaler, a citizen and native of the same town, traded here. It may be recalled that in 1255 Prince Edward was in Bordeaux when he got the grant of the profits of Ireland before starting for Spain. I find an Arnald de Burdeux near Kilmallock in Co. Limerick in 1314.[1]

BRABANT.—The wool seized from the Ricardi merchants in Ireland in September, 1295, was shipped to it.[2]

BRYGGERIAK.—Wine was brought to Dublin from it that same year.[3]

DORDOGNE and LIBOURNE.—In 1289 the new custom of wine in Dublin was levied from Emericus de Tharys for wines laden at Libourne; and in 1292 and 1293 Dordogne wines were taxed in Limerick and Drogheda for the same custom.[4]

FLANDERS.—The "Annals of Lough Cé" state that a force of Flemings, under Grisine, aided the Danes at Clontarf, 1014. There was a large colony of Flemings in South Wales before the first invasion of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, and Flemings are often named in Irish Records. It must suffice to give a few examples. In the original roll of Dublin citizens (about 1175) appear Simon Flandrensis, Isaac Flandrensis, and Gilbert the Fleming. The epithet (rather than surname) is very common. I may add a few cases from the farther counties of Ireland. In the "Black Book of Limerick" are several early charters of one Richard of Flanders, probably of the opening half of the reign of Henry III, as the Bishop, Hubert de Burgh, died in 1250; they relate to the patronage of Magrany Church.[5] Others are of William, Henry, and John of Flanders, in the time of Bishop Robert, who died in 1272, and relate to Kilmallock, Offargus, Dysertenegus, and Cathyrasse, near Croom.[6] Henry, according to the Plea Rolls, held lands at Hedyrgowel in the same county in 1289. Stephen and Laurence the Fleming are also named in the same place. In 1261 Adam "the Flemeng" was there. In County Cork I may note Walter, at Fermoy, in 1260 and 1281; in Tipperary, Nicholas, in Natherlach the same year. In Kerry, we find William at Ardart in 1280–1289. Walter the Fleming, in Waterford city, was called to warrant Robert of

[1] *Ibid.* 1235 (2229), 1267 (816), 1283 (p. 492), Gilbert's "Anglo-Norman Documents," p. 297; Plea Roll 105 Ed. II, 1314, mem. 14.

[2] C. D. I., 1295.

[3] C. D. I., 1295, pp. 90–99.

[4] C. D. I., 1289 (p. 232), 1292 (p. 28).

[5] See "Ancient Churches in Co. Limerick," Proc. R. I. Acad. xxv (C), p. 414. Mayryne or Kilteany lay near Clonelty.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 419, 397, 384 and 385.

Argentine in 1264. Laurence was at Ardgonel in Connacht in 1280, and the title is very common in Leinster.

Nordenskiöld attributes the knowledge of the North of Europe in the portolans to the notes gathered by Mediterranean skippers in Flanders. He states that the trade began in 1262,[1] but the "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland" shows Flemish merchants in our island so early as 1234, when the French merchants were arrested, and the Flemings ordered to be left unmolested. In 1293, Edward I gave safe conduct to the merchants of Flanders in Ireland and elsewhere. Two years later Giles de Courtray of Bruges was accused of having hides and wool laid up in the houses of various Irish merchants at Thomastown, Kilkenny, and Dublin, while Dedrich Tobyn, John Tobyn, and Roger Bongre of Bruges had similar deposits in Dublin, Rosponte, and Kilkenny. Another Fleming, Terry de Edingeham, was buying up wool so far inland as Cashel; and John la Mer of Flanders had deposited his goods with Robert le Kyteler (a member of a family that produced the famous witch) in Kilkenny. Next year, however (1296), the king gave full leave to them to trade in Ireland; this was only fair reciprocity, as his Irish subjects (even in 1252) brought hides called "Ulvesters" to Flanders, and also wool.[2] In 1273 Irish wool was taxed at Bruges, and in 1300. At the time when some of the Flemings were driving their surreptitious trade in wool and hides in Leinster and Munster, others, like Reginald de Bark of Flanders, kept the wines of the foreign merchants in Dublin. John de Coudraye of Bruges complained in 1297 that Hugelin Pere and Hugelin Teste of Lucca detained a debt, so the Government, consistent in its favours, ordered that all persons in Ireland owing debts to the merchants of the Count of Flanders should be distrained to pay them.[3] Far later, about 1420, the markets of Brabant were attended by Irish merchants, who brought quantities of salt hides thither.[4] This may have affected the second type of maps, but their origin is far less obvious than that of the earlier portolans.

Florence.—We feel that we have a full explanation for the minute knowledge of the Irish coasts shown by the early fourteenth-century map-makers, if we can only establish the existence of Florentines in Ireland. The lovely city of the Arno, in commerce, as in literature and art, exhibited great progressiveness. It employed Venetian map-makers; and its archives

[1] Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, p. 85 (citing Anderson, "Origin of Commerce," 1787, vol. i, pp. 225–278).

[2] "Making of Ireland" (citing *Cart. Bruges*, vol. i, p. 87, and Rudolph Haphe's *Bruges Entwicklung*, p. 72).

[3] Generally see Cal. Doc. Ir., Pat., Judiciary, Plea and Pipe Rolls, Black Book of Limerick, Registers of Dublin Abbeys; but all Anglo-Irish records afford evidence of the ubiquity of the Flemings in every walk of life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[4] "The Libel of English Policy," Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations."

contain many of their works. I need only give such names as those of the Vesconti of Venice and Genoa in 1311–20, Giroldis in 1420, and Fra Mauro in 1450, to confirm this side of the statement, for all were employed by the Florentines, and worked in that city.[1] When we turn to Irish records our only difficulty is a great one—how to select from a mass of material that could supply matter for a long independent paper on the Florentines in Ireland. The name "Florentine" is found at New Ross so early as 1217; and Sir John Gilbert shows that in November, 1266, there were several Florentines trading in Dublin. We find the names of Cynus, son of Jacobus de Mancino,[2] merchant and citizen of Florence, a member of the "Riki" Society (as the *Ricardi* of Lucca were called in Dublin), Philip Rodulphi, Matthew Bonfilioli, and Robert Amenati. For the first three, Fulk, Archbishop of Dublin, advanced £100; the deed is sealed with the seal of Master Angelus de Frusinon, a canon of Ferns. King Edward appointed Bonausius Bonaudi and his fellow-merchants of Florence to receive the Customs of Ireland, along with the Lucca merchants, in 1275. The year 1256 saw Hispanellus Simonetti, John Baymund, and Remucius Jacobi, Florentine merchants, trading in Leinster; Fulk Masner and his two associates of Florence were granted duties on wool that same year. Cambinus del Pape, a native of Florence, got licence to stay in Ireland the next year. The Irish Plea Rolls show that Reyner of Florence had a lawsuit in 1295. In April, 1292, Hubert de Passo, merchant of Florence, held letters obligatory of Theobald le Botiller. Toraldus del Pape, a Florentine merchant, appears down to 1310 as having business in Ireland. Others of the same name and place were in England, Hugh Pape being one of those appointed to collect the duty on wool and hides, one-half mark on each sack of 42 stone, or on 300 woolfells, and one mark on each *last* of hides in 1282; and Donettus del Pape in 1275, who was at Newcastle, and with Hugh were associated Hugh del Post and "Torsian" Donato.[3]

There was one Florentine company of outstanding importance who had Irish branches, the *Friscobaldi.* They appear in Ireland, at any rate, in 1282, James and Toresian "Donat" accounted for £2000 from that year to

[1] For some information and illustrations of the bankers and money-lenders of the city, see "The Guilds of Florence" (Edgcumbe Stanley, ed. 2, chap. vi, p. 170). The Friscobaldi first appeared as bankers about 1260; the Bardi in 1244. It is noteworthy that religious feeling regarded usurers as only a shade less black than actual heretics. Edward I accordingly paid a lump sum to "compensate" the Friscobaldi for the money lent for the crusade instead of paying interest. The rules of the Guild of Bankers seem to date from 1280; the original book being lost, the revised statutes date 1299, and an improved code in 1334. Strangers and ecclesiastics were not allowed to be members of the banking firms.

[2] See also "Crede Mihi," 126.

[3] Calendar of Fines, i, p. 169.

1284, for they held the New Custom at £1,000 a year; they were agents of "Hugh, of the merchants of Florency." Jacobus and Turesianus of the Donati held the dues of Youghal, Cork, Waterford, and Dublin in the latter year: Hugh Pape and Hugh le Poste (as we saw in 1275) were colleagues. In 1296 the Donati[1] complained to the Treasurer of unjust treatment; and two years later "Thoresan," in a petition, tells how he had been Keeper of the Exchange in Dublin. He was a very prominent merchant, and is frequently named in the fiscal records of the closing century. Another leading Florentine, Theobald de Castellyon, lent money in Counties Limerick and Tipperary, resulting in various lawsuits with Sir Hugh Purcell of Croagh, Co. Limerick, Sheriff of Tipperary, and with Peter le Botiller in the latter county.

Even after his death his affairs appear more than once in the Plea Rolls in suits of his executors. His name appeared in a very curious case given by Mr. Mills, the Deputy-Keeper of the Records, who, with his usual considerate kindness, gave me the reference before the record was published in the second volume of the Calendar of Justiciary Rolls. Briefly, a controversy arose in 1305 between Hugh del Poste and[2] William del Monte, merchants of Florence, concerning the goods of Theobald de Castellown, formerly a merchant of their company. They appointed each two arbitrators, who chose a fifth, one Guido de Vicuo, "who was of great discretion." This quality, however, appeared in no praiseworthy form; for when William tried to get his friendship he would only grant it for a bond, first of £10, and then of £20. He next extorted similar bonds from Hugh to act in his favour. However, he could not conceal his double-dealing, and, once it got known, the injured party brought it into court, claiming damages to 500 marks. Guido set up an ingenious plea, endeavouring to clear himself of malice or corruption. A jury of twelve Italian merchants was sworn, and they found against the accused. Guido was found "to be at mercy" for £10; the bonds for £20 were cancelled, and he was about to be imprisoned (as he so richly deserved), but some "magnates," friendly to him, interceded, and he was "let make fine," and bidden to be distrained of the deeds. "Brother" Bartholomew Malizard was one of his pledges.[3] I have not traced the Ricardi and Bettori later than 1335; but the record should be of interest if anyone were to follow their history to the end.

The same chief company, the *Friscobaldi*, paid £1,100 for the use of

[1] A family prominent as members of the Friscobaldi.

[2] See also some entries in the Pipe Rolls viii, Edward III of the Ricardi firm of Lucca, Mem. Roll, an. v and vi, Edw. III.

[3] Justiciary Rolls, mem. 35, of 1305.

Edward I (to clear the debts of his war in Palestine), in 1299; accordingly, the "Hammer of Scotland" granted to Coppus Joseph, Coppus Cotenue, and Taldus Janian (who, with the ubiquitous "Tholosianus" Donati, formed the Irish branch of the Friscobaldi), the Irish Customs on wine and hides which were held by the Gascon merchants. The latter being naturally aggrieved, were indemnified out of the lands of the Earl of Cornwall in a sum of £3,370 13*s.* 1½*d.* for wine supplied to the King's household. The financial practice of the day seems very complex to us. The Friscobaldi also trenched on the interests of the *Ricardi* of Lucca, being given the wool held by the latter company in England, Ireland, and Scotland in 1301. In the next two years Beatus Panuchi, Scoldus de Friscobaldi, Coppus Cotenue,[1] and others of the company, were regranted the Custom on wool and hides in Ireland. They were on friendly terms with the Donati, whom they sometimes attorned in their lawsuits with others. The *Mozzi* of Florence also traded with Ireland in 1309.[2]

A third Florentine firm, the *Bettieli*, are named in the Justiciary Rolls. Hugelin Pere and Hugelin Teste were among its members and traded in Ireland. Several other firms are recorded in Ireland. The *Gherardini* commenced business in England under Otto degli Gherardini in 1199. The *Bardi* were bankers in Florence in 1244, and appointed legal representatives in Ireland, May 29th, 1311.[3] The *Spini*, like the Gherardini had occasional Irish connexion. Gerald de Nerly of the Spini was paid £100 by the Government for good service, 1214, and in 1302, King Edward being in debt to Philip Gerardinus and Gerardinus Gottis of Nerlis, assigned to them the *tenth* allowed him in Ireland by Pope Boniface VIII.[4]

One cannot but suspect that it was those merchants who originated in later days the popular belief in the Florentine origin of the Geraldine nobles in Ireland. Gamurrini's "History of the Gherardini" (in 1671) expresses doubt as to whether he should include the Irish lines; but he yields on the authority (to modern antiquaries unsatisfactory) of a late document which told how, in 1413, one of the Irish family, Maurice Fitz Gerald, a priest of Ardfert, when "seeking for some one in Florence," stated that his ancestors

[1] He is also mentioned in the Calendar of Fines, i, p. 439, where there is much about the Friscobaldi, pp. 466, 471–472, 475, 481. The Friscobaldi collected at Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Exeter in 1300; Coppe Cotenue appears there. (Red Book of Exhequer, Rolls series, III, p. 988.)

[2] Papal Register Cal., 1309.

[3] "Guilds of Florence," p. 171, p. 182.

[4] Florentines—See "Guilds of Florence," E. Stanley, chap. vi. There are endless entries in the Cal. Doc. Ir. under dates Plea, Pipe, Judiciary Rolls, Reports D. K. R. Ir. 36–41. The monastic and other Registers, Gilbert's "Documents of the Anglo-Normans," Pat. Rolls, "Liber Rubeus de Scaccario," iii, pp. 977 and 988.

were of the Ghenadini, on which statement a certain merchant, Nicola de Luca de Fee, introduced him to two of these nobles. What authority Maurice had for making a statement so much to his own interest we do not know; he cited an unknown "Red Book of the City of Emerlic" (Limerick), unnamed by others. At most, till some more convincing evidence is produced, it must be put with such thirteenth- to sixteenth-century genealogies as the Stuart descent from Banquo, the Berkeley descent from the King of Denmark, or the Mac Namara and Mac Mahon descents from the Mortimers and Fitz Urses. It was rife in the following century in the reign of Henry VIII.[1]

Gascony.—In 1223 the merchants of Gascony were not permitted to stay in Dublin. The "Annals of Inisfallen" have an entry important as bearing on the Gascon trade in Corcalaidhe, the Corcala of the portolans. In 1234 Amlaibh o hEidersceoil (O'Driscoll), named "Gascunagh," the Gascon, fell in battle with the Normans at Tralee. His descendants, called the Clann an Gascunaigh, stated he got his name from being given as a pledge for the value of a cargo of wine brought by a Gascon ship to Corcalaidh. He returned to Gascony and learned wine culture and other matters, being eventually redeemed and elected chief of the O'Driscolls. The Cork Gascoynes are reputed to be his descendants. In 1260 Morgan the Welshman and Isolde his wife had a lawsuit against Garfye the Gascon for rent in Limerick city. Domingun le Fraunceys, a Gascon wine merchant, is named as in Dublin and trading with Galway in 1281. This may help to account for the unimportance of Galway to the early map-makers if the city got its wine from Dublin, Limerick, or Aran. Fortesius de Besondon and Peter Troyles, other Gascons, transferred certain sums owing to them to William Rici and the Lucca merchants, 1282. Menard Morond, Arnold de Ambiadores, Domaion le Gascon, William Seleiys, Arnold de Romayn, and Echran appear in various Irish documents between 1278 and 1299. In 1293 the Irish seafaring men complained about the Gascon merchants, who, as they alleged, manipulated and removed cargoes from the wine-vessels at various ports. Again, in 1296, the rules laid down for ships coming to Gascony with supplies from Ireland compelled the masters to swear to keep the open sea, not approaching the coasts of either France or Brittany. Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Ross, and Drogheda exported corn to Gascony in 1296. Lastly, I may note that certain Dublin Gascons sent white wine to Youghal in 1358.[2]

[1] See Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir., vol. xiv, consec. (vol. iv, ser. 4, 1877), p. 246.

[2] Gascons.—See, for O'Driscoll, "Miscellany Celtic Soc." (corca laidhe), p. 15. Generally, Cal. Doc. Ir., under dates. Pat. R. 21, Ed. I, m. 13, Pipe Rolls, notably xxiv, Ed. I (38 Rep., pp. 22–34). Wheat and oats are sent to Plommothe and Bayon in Gascony. Lape Tynnache, who died in 1296, organized the impost.

GENOA.—This is also, like Florence, important to the question of the maps ; but the answer is less satisfactory. The Irish had a hospital at Genoa, before the Norman Invasion of Ireland, about 1160, and in 1252 Henry Mancell, of Ireland, was ransomed from the Saracens by the Genoese. Though Ireland seems to have had no recorded direct trade with the Genoese, the ships of the latter were no strangers on the English coast and across the track of Irish commerce with Flanders. In 1306 two Genoan galleys were impressed to load wool in London, Sanuis, and Antona (Sandwich and Southampton), and a certain Leonardo of Genoa was commissioned to borrow five more in 1317 for the war of Edward II against Bruce. There was frequent communication with Flanders,[1] and the French fleets contained many Genoan vessels.

LUCCA.—The Lucca merchants, like those of Florence, played an important part in the early commercial history of Ireland. So early as in 1171 we find a Richard of Lucca and Franc of Louvain following the Norman invaders into Ireland. Richard made payments to the Jews in the Irish Accounts of 1178 and 1179. In 1260 Cynus de Mancino of the "Riky" company, son of Master Jacobus de Rickobardi, was in Dublin. In 1275 King Edward issued a writ to the Bailiffs of Ireland in favour of Luke de Luk and his fellows, merchants of Lucca, having appointed these as warders and bailiffs to receive the customs of Ireland along with the merchants of Florence.[2] In 1279 Percival of Lucca, of the Associated Merchants, and Leonard Teste, of Lucca, were found to be clipping the Irish coinage. Percival of Lucca traded in wool and hides in 1280 ; and in the following year Alexander, a Lucca merchant, succeeded Orlandinus of Podium in the custody of the Dublin mint, and its profits were shared by Bandinus "Paunsy" and Reymund of Lucca.[3] The merchants made a loan "for the service of Conewy." The name[4] is elsewhere used for Cuinche or Quin in Co. Clare, where a fine monastery stands on the remains of a large castle. The *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* and Annals of Inisfallen tell how, while the fortress was being built in 1280, Prince Donchad O'Brien came to buy wine there and was murdered beneath its walls. Baruncinus Walter and his associates exported 600 sacks of wool in 1282–3 ; and £200 is mentioned as then owing by Bendinus "Panick" and "Reyner

[1] GENOESE.—For the hospital, see "Making of Ireland" (citing Schulze, "Geschichte mittelalterlichen handels"), p. 85. For general notes, see Cal. Doc. Ir. under dates ; Close Rolls, Just. Rolls ; Close Roll, 37 Hen. III, m. 3.

[2] "Calendar of Fines," vol. i, p. 60.

[3] All, of the *Ricardi*. I omitted Reyner Broccholi.

[4] If not Conway.

Brokeley" of Lucca. The former (also called "Paunsy") with William Ricci and Waruncius Walter of Lucca traded in Leinster, and the Gascon debts were assigned to him. The Dublin mint was under the charge of its "faithful master," Alex. Normanni of Lucca in 1283, and the London one was also managed by Lucca merchants a little later.

We are overloaded with material from which a monograph on the *Ricardi* Company might be written. In connexion with the new custom we find Bouruncinus Franciscus, of Lucca in 1286, Francis Malisard and Gerald Chimbord[1] in 1292, among the collectors. The second of these constantly appears in the records. In 1284 the *Ricardi* included Baruncius Galteri (named above), Ronaldus of Podio (Orlandinus of Podium), the above Panichi (in 1301), and "Reyner Broccholi," the names being frequently misspelled. They and Peregrinus the Lombard sold wine; so did Nicholas and Hugh of Lucca in 1278 to 1284. In 1283 "Bendyn" the Lombard paid seven hogsheads of wine to the king's use from Dublin, and Eliseus of Lucca paid for the service of Malahide. The king in 1285 ordered the controllers to give the custody of the Irish wool trade to the *Ricardi*. We have already noted the curious arbitration case of this firm.

The firm also lent money all over southern Ireland. The Plea Rolls give a suit in which a mortgage of Peter, son of Meiler de Brymyngham, dated 23 Jan., 1291, was registered in Court, being charged on Cnockgraffyn, Kylleness, and Karryk, besides the Manor of Athenry in Connacht, securing a sum of money lent by Gerard "Chimbard" and Reymund "Rapundi" of the *Ricardi*.[2] In 1293 the "Black Book of Limerick" records the acquittance of the Dean and Chapter of a debt to Geste the Lombard; in 1295 Hubert, Abbot of Wethney, in Co. Limerick, borrowed a sum from Chimbard Malesard and Rapundi; and in 1297 Maurice de Carreu was acquitted of £30 debt to them. The Abbot of Wethney granted them the church of Thurles and the chapels of Codach and Caprach as security for £1000; while the abbot of the other great Cistercian House of Co. Limerick, "De Magio" or Monasternenagh, was a borrower from them in 1301; and the Prior of Athassell, Co. Tipperary, in 1309. The lands of Robert Purcell, of Ballycathlan, Co. Limerick, were assigned to Bartholomew Malizard for a debt in 1310; and at the same time Gerard "Grymbard" ("Chimbord" or "Sinbaldi") found that the goods of Sir Hugh Purcell (on which he had a claim) were held by Thomas Purcell of Croagh in the same county, and so proceeded against him.

---

[1] *Recte* Sinbaldi.

[2] For these debts and suits see Bermingham, 1291, Plea R., No. 15, m. 2d.; Wethney, 1295, *ibid.*, No. 25, m. 4; W. Uncle, *ibid.*, m. 9 and m. 10; Athassell, Archdall's "Monasticon Hib."

On the other hand, the road was not smooth for the Luccans,[1] and, despite the favour of the Crown and certain leading men, the Irish officials treated them with severity whenever they had an excuse. Sir William de Clere, the Deputy Treasurer in 1291, attacked the company, going with William de Bristowe, the Mayor of Dublin, to the house of Hugh the Lombard in that city and other associates of the *Ricardi*, forcibly seizing their money, £2,014, and sealing their chests. At the same time the associates of the branches in Ross, Kilkenny, Limerick, Youghal, and Cork were treated in the same way. The company petitioned the King; and he directed the Viceroy to inquire into their complaint. The Viceroy impanelled a jury, whose finding, with the seals (among others of Walter the Lombard), is extant. I do not find how far the *Ricardi* got tangible redress. Eight years later the company got into debt to the Crown (1299); they were suddenly seized and imprisoned, their goods seized, and their business in Tipperary stopped. A certain Lape Tinache in Katherlach (Carlow) paid off part of their debt in 1295; but he died 1298, and the trouble continued till the company was nearly ruined. At last (as a forlorn hope) the *Ricardi* petitioned the Parliament of 1305, praying the King and Parliament to pity their poor estate, and to order the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer to receive their account of the goods paid to the King in part payment of their debt. The above-named officers were directed to audit the account accordingly.[2] It is a subject worthy of further study as a most instructive chapter in Irish history, too exclusively concerned (as hostile critics say) with slaughter and cattle-spoil. I have not followed it past 1335. From 1322–1333 to that year, I find persons appointed to sue for the King's debts owing by the *Ricardi* and the "*Bettori Sons*" of Luka, usually petty sums like 13*s.* 4*d.* The collection seems to have cost the government more than they gained. The only definite fact stands out—William de Combe had an allowance for his trouble about the papers (*papyria*) of the merchants of the *Ricardi* and *Betturi* in the King's hand, and for examining into their debts. In 1339 the King ordered suspension of payment, and by 1345 the Bardi of Florence, the Peruzzi, and other creditors[3] of the State went bankrupt. All banking and trade felt the

[1] LUCCA.—An enormous mass of material in Cal. Doc. Ir. (especially vol. iii), under dates; Pipe Rolls (App. Rep. D.K.R.); Plea R. and Justic. R. (Cal. ed. James Mills); Plea Rolls, No. 15 (1291), *m.* 2d.; No. 25 (1295) *m.* 4; No 96, *m.* 20d; Black Book of Limerick and other Registers; Calendar of Fines, National MSS. of Ireland, vol. ii, No. lxxxi. The company foreclosed on the mortgage of the Abbot of Wethney, and actually leased him the churches at eighty marks per annum in 1294.

[2] See "Memoranda de Parliamento, 1305" (3 W. Maitlaw, Rolls Ser.), p. 165. The petition, in Norman-French, is curious; they appeal piteously, "de lour povre estat."

[3] Readers of *Romola* will recall the allusion to the collapse of the Bardi.

shock to the north of the Mediterranean. I have to leave to others the task of recording the "winding up" of the two companies: these scattered records sufficiently show their enterprise and ceaseless energy in the days of their prosperity. It is to be hoped that some specially qualified archivist (like Mr. Herbert Wood, who commenced, but has not as yet published, a history of these traders) may supply this desideratum for the study of Irish social life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The *Beccor*, *Bettor* or "Associates of Bettori of Lucca," were also money-lenders. The Abbot of Wethney in 1299 borrowed a sum of 7 marks from William Fantel, of the company, which led to litigation. I have found occasional mention of the firm in Irish Records down at least to 1335.[1]

Parma.—The tomb of John Lumbard of the county of Parma and his wife, Dame Rame Parys of St. Saviour of Esturia, an interesting late fourteenth-century monument, remains in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. A John Lumbard was a collector of the small custom in Dublin after 1335.[2]

Picardy.—In 1295 Warinde Meys of Amiens in Picardy had goods at the house of Henri de Marshall in Dublin.[3]

Pisa.—Walter le Pisioen was at Dungarvan in 1260.[4]

Poitou.—Giraldus Cambrensis, as we noted, attests an extensive trade between Ireland and Poitou, in wine, hides, and furs, before 1183.[5] The Pictavian merchants in 1223 complained that they were only allowed to stay forty days at a time in Dublin. A few years later, however, Reimund of Poitou was given the custody of St. Patrick's Gate in Dublin for life with the use of its cellars.[6]

Provence.—It made its presence felt (as Rev. H. Chaytor points out) by the large number of Provençal words in English maritime speech, e.g., coladre or cullender, funnel, puncheon, rack, spigot, and noose.[7] These were probably introduced directly through the Bordeaux ships, which tallies with the records of Irish commerce with Bordeaux as given above, from 1235 to 1312.

St. Emilian.—William Chatuel, in 1293, brought forty-one hogsheads of St. Emilian wine to Wexford.[8]

---

[1] Plea R., No. 46, xxvii Ed. I, Pipe Rolls, 1335; App. 44*m*, Rep. D.K.R., pp. 48–52.

[2] I absolutely dissent from the romantic version based on the supposed usage of "Lombard" for "Master Mason." For John Lumbard, see Pipe Rolls, viii and ix Edw. III, No 59. He appears in other documents down to about 1350. The lettering of the tablet seems to belong to this period.

[3] Cal. Doc. Ir., p. 109.

[4] Plea R., xliv Hen. III, m. 8.

[5] Topog. Hib. (vol. v, Rolls Ser., p. 23). "Vina tamen transmarina, ratione commercii, tam abunde terram replent. . . Pictavia namque, de plenitudine sua, ei copiose vina transmittit, cui et animalium coria, &c., Hibernia, non ingrata, remittit."

[6] Gilbert's "Cal., Charters and Government Grants to the City of Dublin," p. 90.

[7] "The Troubadours."

[8] Cal. Doc. Ir., p. 27.

SIENA.—Marsilius of Siena was a "moneyer" in Ireland with his other associates in 1297. The firm of Bonsignori Bernadini, and Jacobi of Siena had also dealings in Ireland.[1]

SPAIN.—There is little evidence for Spanish settlers in Ireland known to me in records of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The "Black Book of Archbishop Alan" (p. 66) mentions William of Spain holding lands at Okonagh, on the borders of Counties Limerick and Tipperary, in the time of William de Marisco, *circa* 1230 to 1240. Aderic in Youghal at the close of the century also has the epithet "de Spain."

VENICE.—I have so far found no direct communication between Venice and Ireland. Indirect communication at Bruges, London, Southampton, and in Provence must have been common.[2]

Having examined the evidence for frequent communication between so many parts of Ireland and the Continent, it becomes evident that the masters of foreign trading vessels visiting and settling in Ireland must have had abundant means for getting information. The constant influx of new-comers also must have rendered detailed maps of Ireland more and more sought after. Unfortunately none of the early maps seem to have been preserved in the British Isles. The compass, too, was coming into use[3] and was well known to the learned by 1220; but the superstition of the sailors long refused to allow it on board ship as containing "an infernal spirit." By the dawn of the fourteenth century we find networks of compass-bearings on the maps, and soon prejudice against the use of the compass changed to blind faith in its infallible trustworthiness, only shaken by its variation on the first voyage of Columbus. Raymund Lull, about 1300, mentions charts with a compass, point, and star, "habent chartam, compassum, acum et stellam maris." Soon the cartographers, who had made no allowance for the rotundity of the Earth, found that the distances did not "close in," and adopted a crude sort of projection, somewhat like Mercator's, and (as cross-sea voyages got more frequent and daring) errors were detected and removed. It was long, however, before the influence of the early editions of Ptolemy ceased to misplace Ireland with regard to Great Britain, and the prejudice that Ireland lay towards Spain left a quaint trace down to the eighteenth-century tradition that a place at the Shannon's mouth was described as "Carrigaholt next Spain." How this belief arose from the "later classic" writers is easily seen

[1] Mr. Herbert Wood in reading over this section kindly gave me this last record.

[2] See Calendar of Venetian Papers, pp. 3–7, 1319 to 1333.

[3] Proc. R.I.A., vol. xxx (C), p. 241. For details and authorities see *Periplus*, pp. 48–51, p. 85; Lull, "Arbor Scientiae" (ed. Lyons, 1515, f. cxci); and "Coup d'œil historique sur la projection des cartes" (Paris, 1863), p. 38. The diagrams and circular calendars of Franciscus Piziganus in 1373 are very curious (*Periplus*, p. 55).

by many of the later maps[1] but not in the common-sense portolans), which "slew round" Ireland till it appears between England and Spain, sometimes close to the latter country; no sailor could have originated such maps.

So far as I can judge (but I write with hesitation), the trade routes lay across Provence—say, broadly from Italy to Bordeaux. With the latter there was constant traffic from Ireland. The next line was from Italy to Flanders by sea; with this again Ireland came in contact, notably at Bruges. The third, and in my judgment the most important, as bearing on the early maps, was the constant communication of the large mass of Italian bankers, merchants, money-lenders, mint-officials, and tax-collectors, and the great companies of Florence and Lucca resident in Ireland. These constantly passed to and from Flanders, France, and Italy. By all these methods the knowledge of the place-names of Ireland is only to be expected, and though the prominence of the coast-names shows that it was the mariners rather than the bankers or merchants (whose field of business covered the inland towns) for whom the earliest maps were specially intended.

I regret that I cannot farther pursue this most important subject. If I can lead others to give it special study, then this paper may fulfil an important duty to the history of Irish industry.

6. The Irish Ports on the Maps.

The rise of the chief ports in Ireland can be only imperfectly traced here; but it has a bearing on the maps here studied, and compels us to examine it as briefly as can be done. Probably from the earliest times the bays and creeks, especially of the west and south coasts, attracted foreigners. We must free our minds from the conditions of modern shipping to see what ideal harbours were Bannow, Wicklow (where probably ships could lie behind the Murrough sand-spit), Dublin, Malahide, and other places, with their sandy shores and shallow estuaries. The well-known account of the "fair" of Carman,[2] and "the great mart of the foreign Greeks, where gold and noble clothes are wont to be" there, is not improbably based on fact apart from the nationality of the traders; and we saw that the Irish were not without commerce in Roman times, whether Rome "moved her arms beyond the shores of Iuverna" or not. The "fair" has usually been located on Loch

[1] For example, an early map at Turin puts Scotia (Ireland) opposite Spain.

[2] For Loch Garman see the poem in the "Dind Senchas"; for the prose see *Revue Celtique*, xv, pp. 311–315. For the actual fair of Carman see O'Curry's "Manners and Customs of the Irish," vol. iii, p. 547.

Garmain or Wexford, but was certainly inland. There is, however, no evidence for trading-ports before the Norse times; the Irish did not incline towards cities; and the largest towns were monastic (endless scattered huts in the fields round a monastery, itself not a claustral building, but a slightly walled group of other houses and churches, with perhaps a round tower). Such was Cork. The existence of Dublin as a city in the fifth century is a figment of hagiographers, culminating in Jocelin, and repeated in many modern popular books. Luimneach was not a town, but a bare islet, with a church of St. Mainchin, and a long tidal estuary. Portlairge, or Loch Dachaoch, was not a town, but an ill-defined reach of Waterford Harbour, and of the outer estuary; Ollarba (Larne) was only a bay. The Vikings founded settlements,[1] at first for plunder, then for trade, or both; and in later days imported wine freely, and traded with the Irish princes, or paid them a wine-tribute. The chief harbours and the towns bore Norse names (some re-cast from an Irish original, such as Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and Ulfricksfiördr,[2] Ullerford (Ollarba); others pure "Scandinavian"—Strangford, Carlingford, Wexford (Weiseford), Waterford (Vedrifiordr), Godelford, and Endelford, on their *fiords*; others, like Wicklow (Vikinglo) and Smerwick (Smiörwick). Inland Norse names like Leixlip, Howth, Ostmanstown, or the Laxweir, lay close to the large towns. Dublin was a ford and pool (not a town) till the foreigners settled at it. The "Norse" names outside these are chiefly islands—Skerries, Holmpatrick, Ireland's Eye, Lambay (Irish *Rechra* preserved in Portrane), and Dalkey, the latter an adaptation of the sound and meaning of the Irish Dealg-inis, or Thorn Isle. The bold Cape of Ben Edar became "*the* Head," Howth.[3] When the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland all the chief coast-towns were well established, and some centuries old, their harbours full of shipping, like that of Waterford on the day of its first English assault.

DUBLIN.—The convenient creeks at the old "hurdle-ford" (Ath Cliath) and "Black pool" (Dubh linn) led the Norse (Finn Gall) to establish a town on them about 836, when sixty ships full of the foreigners landed.[4] It was

[1] Mr. Herbert Hore aptly compares the later status of the Norse towns to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in the eighteenth century; the Ardrigh to the Great Mogul, and the sub-kings and provincial kings to the Rajahs.

[2] About 1020; see "Orkneyinga Saga" (ed. Rolls Series), iii, p. 19.

[3] Worsaae gives the components as fiord, ey, stadr (e.g. Ulaztiri, Ulster; laighin-stadr, Leinster), leix (salmon) and ör, cape, as at Greenore and Carnsore. Some add Torry, Thor-ey, Thor's Island, as Thor was the god of stormy places! (Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. i, p. 107, and Caesar Otway's "Sketches in Erris," p. 11.)

[4] The Thingmote and Lang Stein (pillar) of the assembly place of the Norsemen, remained to either side of the present front square of Trinity College. Several tumuli lay there, The Danes were said to have had vaults for storage of merchandise where Christchurch (the Cathedral of the Trinity) now stands. They gave their name to "Ostmanstown," the "Oustmans old quarry, 1236," "Ostman's Bridge," and "Ostman's Green" (Cal. Anct. Rec., Dublin, vol. i, the *Liber Albus*, pp. 81, 96): and in early days to "Tomar's Wood," near Rutland Square.

taken by the Irish in 845. In 853, Amlaibh brought a stronger reinforcement: and the town at one time had 200 ships. Despite its two surrenders about 980 to King Maelsechnaill and King Brian, and the tremendous check to the Danish power before its walls in the so-called Battle of Clontarf in 1014, it continued in the hands of its founders. Sigtrygg, in 1038, built its "Christchurch,"[1] for the result of "Clontarf" had discredited the religion of Asgard. Its ruler, Asculf, son of Thorkill, fled on the approach of the English, returning to attack them in great force in 1170; but Milo de Cogan held it, and it became and continued the Anglo-Norman capital after the visit of Henry II in 1172, who planted there a colony from Bristol, and gave them, by an extant charter, all the liberties, rights, and customs of their native city.[2] We are only concerned with lights on its commercial history before 1330.[3] By Prince John's charter no foreign merchant could keep a wine-shop in it save on ship-board, and two butts of wine (one from before and one behind the mast) were reserved. It was customary law that no foreign trader should stay in it over forty days. Henry III had to rebuke its citizens for unjust exactions on the foreigners. Its murage-grant shows that in 1233 it dealt in wine, wheat, oats, horses, cows, hogs, sheep, hides, wool, lead, cloth, salt, woad, tallow, cheese, honey, butter, herrings, and salmon. In 1241 it sent a porpoise to Chester. In 1252 it was compelled to adopt a uniform standard of weights and measures. That same year the murage-grant, besides the former items, includes rates on pepper, wax, alum, millstones, squirrel-skins, &c. In 1284 it taxed wine and French millstones. In 1295[4] (besides the above) linen, canvas, samite, diaper from Ypres), baudekin, silk, and other choice fabrics, and cordwain are named. Henry III, in his charter, 1221,[5] allowed a toll of two pence on each butt of wine for the city. The Pipe Rolls

[1] The correspondence of the plans of the cathedrals of Dublin and Waterford cannot be attributed to the Danes, for the remains are Gothic or at earliest in Christ Church Norman transition. It is more than doubtful whether any trace of Danish work remains in either. Save the Ring-Tower at Waterford, Norse Ireland seems to have left no building or carved stone—a fact that minimizes the deductions from the non-existence of such in America, where the Norse barely landed. Only two runic inscriptions on swords have been found in Ireland.

[2] Facsimile in Gilbert's "Cal. of Ancient Records of Dublin," i, and "National MSS. of Ireland."

[3] Apart from the numerous annals and histories of this (as of the other ports), I refer to the Patent, Close, Pipe, Memoranda, and Plea Rolls, the Monastic and Cathedral Registers, and Sir. J. Gilbert's "Calendars, &c., Charters, and Documents of the Anglo-Normans," and of course the Cal. Doc. Ir.

[4] In this year a cow was sold at 6s. 6d., but worth 8s. (Justic. R. Cal., m. 17). Other murage-grants (rather too late for this paper) date 1328–8, 1345–6, and 1386. The first two include skins of fox-hare, rabbit, cat, wolf, and squirrel. The last grant gives gold, satin, d'Ypres (diaper), and baudekyn (cloth of gold or silver with silk), French linen, and English cloth, and cloth of assize of Flanders, Normandy, and Brabant, als Spanish iron. Cal. Anc. Rec., Dublin.

[5] The reason of the grants to Dublin, Limerick, Cork, &c., of the liberties of Bristol seems to be that John (when Earl of Mortaine) granted a charter to the latter, in which they were carefully specified; and it was a common practice to copy an older charter when a new one was needed. Henry II had given a charter to Bristol the very year of his visit to Dublin, 1172.

are rich in particulars of its wine trade. Among the customary laws of "Diueline" no foreigner could witness against a citizen till other evidence failed. In 1312 it imported brasilwood,[1] figs, raisins, ginger, and spices. Dublin was closely bound to Bristol, from which many of its citizens had migrated in 1171–2, and enjoyed all the privileges of the English city.[2] The prices of provisions in Dublin at the beginning of the fourteenth century were fixed by the Common Council as follows:—A good goose, 2 pence; two good rabbits, 3 pence; two middle-sized ones, 1 penny; three chickens, or a good hen, two good plovers, or two good snipe, or three middle-sized ones were also sold for a penny.[2]

LIMERICK.—The Norse and Danes plundered the Luimneach, and founded a city on Inis Uibhthonn, about 812. It is frequently called "Luimneach of the ships" in Irish histories of the tenth and later centuries. King Mathgamhain took it and expelled its lord, Amlaibh, in 968, slaying its "governor," Muris, at the battle of Sulchoid. "Hrafn, the Hlimrek merchant," was in touch with Ari, who made voyages from Iceland to America (Winland) about 1000. Limerick then paid a wine-tribute to King Brian. The Normans first captured it in 1175; and Prince John granted a charter, 1194 to 1199. It possesses a list (though doubtful in its first century),[3] of mayors and bailiffs from that time. It was a walled town before the Norman attack, and its foreign trade seems very small. The Ostmen and Danes had been planted near it in the "cantred of the Ostmen," but many of its families—Harolds, Thurkells, Thursteyns, Herewards, Siwards, &c.—derived from them, whence the modern Harolds and Tristrams. They used to form a third of certain juries of Normans, Ostmen, and Irish. The murage-grant of 1237 includes a tax on wine, and *prise* of wines is recorded from 1267. In 1283 it paid £140 worth of wine as 70 tuns. John's charter (as exemplified in the later one of Edward in 1291) permits no foreigners to purchase corn, wool, or hides in Limerick, except from a citizen. No stranger could retail wine (save on shipboard), or sell cloth, or stay more than 40 days in the town; and the Prince reserved 2 hogsheads of wine from each ship—one before and one behind the mast. The custom-records name Dordogne wine in 1292–3. In 1295 the prices of provisions in Limerick were:—10 acres of oats, 2½

[1] Interesting as bearing on the question of the name of the mythical Island. See *supra*, xxx, p. 255. Professor MacNeill regards "Brasil" as a non-Gaelic name.

[2] Gilbert's "Calendar of Records of Dublin," i, p. 219.

[3] It is striking to find the succession corresponding in names and order for several consecutive years, with the names and order of witnesses to certain early deeds, in the "Black Book of Limerick" (e.g. the names, 1210 to 1213, and Black Book, p. 95). It is easier to discredit the early entries than to find where the authentic ones begin. The independent mention of mayors and sheriffs of Limerick in contemporary records does not correspond with the names at the same dates in the lists, e.g. at 1295.

marks; 1 acre of beans, 40 pence; 6 acres of oats, 20*s.*; 2 acres of wheat, half a mark; cows were worth 5*s.* each; sheep, 6 pence; lambs, 3 pence; goats, 6 pence; kids, 2 pence, and hogs, 6 pence. At Moycro (Croagh), Co. Limerick, Hugh Purcell had oxen worth each 3*s.*; sheep, 6 pence; cows, 3*s.*; hogs, 6*d.* Horses were each 5 marks, and mares, 10*s.*; foals, 2*s.*; and cloth 6*d.* an ell in Limerick and Kerry in 1299; and a he-goat in Kerry was worth 8 pence.[1] In one more instance, at Lough Gur, in 1314, Robert de Dundonald gave Thomas Perpont 8 cows worth ½ a mark each; 2 "affers," 5*s.*; 1 horse, 10*s.* and 20 acres of corn, £4, besides other grain.[1] Limerick, like Dublin, had close ties with Bristol, which continued as late as 1401. Thomas Balbeyn, by his will, left Thom Cor Castle, in the suburbs, to the commonalty, should his brother Henry, living at Bristol, not choose to remove to Limerick.[2] The city charters date: John, 1199; Edward I, 1291 and 1303; Henry IV, 1400; Henry V, 1413; Henry VI, 1423, 1429; Henry VII, 1489; Edward VI, 1551; Elizabeth, 1577, 1582; and James I, 1609.

Waterford.—A Norse colony, under Sitric, settled here in 853, naming it "Vedrisfiordr." It was walled, but so poorly that when Cellachan, king of Cashel, attacked it (936–952) his men "leaped over it." The ring-tower is alleged to date from 1003. Waterford was a great resort of ships, and, when besieged in 1137 by Diarmait, king of Leinster, and Conchobar, king of Thomond, the Danes of Wexford and Dublin came to its relief in 200 ships. The ring tower is attributed to 1003. The town was taken by the Anglo-Normans in 1171. The Ostmen seem to have been transplanted to the neighbouring *Villa Oustmannorum* under curious circumstances if we can credit the finding of a jury in 1311: It appears that about 1171 one Reginald Mac Gillemory, a very rich and powerful man, dwelt at Renaudes castel near the port of Waterford, where a mote, ancient and deserted, remained in 1310. King Henry fitz Empress was expected to land for the conquest of Ireland, so Reginald had long iron chains made which he stretched from the said mote across to the Dunbrody bank in the liberties of Weyseford. When Henry took the city, he and his supporters were tried and hanged, the rest of the "Oustmen" in Waterford were expelled and lands given to them in

[1] See C.D.I., 1295 and 1299, pp. 8, 246 (under 1301, p. 255, we get a valuable price-list of trees. 200 apple-trees, £20; 100 pear-trees, £10; 30,000 great ash-trees, £200; 1000 great alders worth £60); and Plea Roll No. 105 of Henry II, 134, mem. 19; Plea Roll No. 116, mem. 47 (1318). The prior of St. Mary's, Rathkeale, "vi et armis," took on Thomas Purcell's lands, of Croagh, Co. Limerick, 30 pigs, each 4*s.*; four others at half a mark; also grain, &c., worth 46*s.* *Ibid.*, mem. 51, Richard de Clare and others, when opposing the Bruce's army in Co. Limerick, took 90 cows, worth 20*s.* each, on the lands of Any.

[2] Arthur MSS. in M. Lenihan's "Limerick," and "Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ir." xxvii, p. 38.

[3] Besides the general authorities, see "Black Book of Limerick" (ed. Rev. J. MacCaffrey), and Histories of Fitzgerald, Lenihan, Begley, &c.

the suburb. Some time afterwards they treacherously attacked the burgesses when playing in the fields, slaying many and carrying off their wives. Now, a certain loyal "Oustman" named Gerald Mac Gillemory lived in a certain tower, which is very old and ruined, opposite the church of the Friars Preachers. He defended it against his relatives, and was rewarded by being granted English law. This does not support the identity of the Ring tower with Reginald's tower. The foreigners' territory was called Gaultiere.[1] In 1220 its citizens complained to Henry III that ships unloaded wines, &c., at other ports, so the King forbade merchants to bring their ships to (New) Ross, its dangerous rival. He also in 1223 gave it a murage grant, and in 1232 forbade (as at Limerick) any stranger to buy hides and wool in it save from a citizen. He reserved the usual 2 hogsheads of wine (from before and behind the mast), and forbade strangers to stay more than forty days in the town. It got murage rates in 1234 on ships of 100 hogsheads of wine or more, wine, honey, timber, hides, skins, furs (of hares, squirrels, foxes and martens), wool, cloth, canvas, sendal, wax, pepper, cummin, alum, wood, coals, corn, salt, iron, lead, lard, suet, butter, cheese, salmon, and congers. Another grant, in 1243,[2] added skins of wolves, tippets, dyed cloth, woad from Vermandeis and Kaam, soap, hake, mullet, herrings, plates, caldrons, and cattle. In short, King Henry's government favoured it excessively.

King Edward reversed his father's policy; he bade all ships to go on to Ross in 1277. In 1282 its customs were granted to the Donati of Florence. Its Bishop was found guilty of monopolizing the sale of corn and wine there, selling bad corn to the King's manors and castles. In 1293 a document foreshadows Shakespeare, and shows us a John Fastolf concerned with (but selling than rather buying) the King's wines at Waterford. In 1295 John Bokerel of Waterford was accused falsely of breaking into the chest of a Fleming. It possessed so valued a merchant from Bruges that his tombstone in the cathedral recorded that "Bruges crie et lamente Après sa cidadin, Waterford s'en augmente."[3] In 1301 the Owstmen there accounted for 10 marks fine. As for the prices of provisions: 2 goats, worth 11 pence, were stolen for hunger, not for evil-doing, by a John Martyn in 1295; he was acquitted for the benefit of the king's soul. A cow worth 5*s.*, and a "pork" worth 16 pence were stolen by others at the same place. The prices were closely similar to those in Limerick, above given, and to those in Tipperary, where (near the great mote and castle of Dounhochil)

[1] Plea Roll No. 108 Ed. II, anno iv, mem. 15. Gilbert gives a facsimile in "National MSS. of Ireland," vol. iii, No. 17.

[2] Just before this time Sir Hugh Purcell founded the Franciscans' house in 1240.

[3] Dr. C. Smith's "History of Waterford," p. 176.

Simon Ercedekne in 1295 had 48 oxen worth half a mark each; 1500 sheep worth 10 pence each; 400 lambs, 4 pence each; 215 pigs at a shilling each; 150 goats at 8 pence, and 80 kids worth 2 pence that same year. These were distrained with 186 "afers" (horses), each ½ a mark; 48 stud mares worth 20s. each. In the same year we find another seizure by Sir Geffry Keating, giving 6 afers as worth 2s. each, and 60 acres of oats and wheat at 3 pence an acre.[1] Waterford exported corn to Gascony that same year.[2]

Cork.—Corcagh mór (the great marsh) arose from a monastery founded by St. Finn-Barr, 606, 623. The Norse ravaged it in 820; and the foreign hosts from the port of Corcagh are named in 866[3] as Danes and Dubh-geinnte. In 1089 it was attacked by the Danes of Dublin, Waterford, and Wicklow, being then evidently held by the Irish, who beat off the Vikings. It sent a fleet of thirty-five Danish ships to attack Richard Earl of Strigul at Dungarvan. Henry II, in 1177, confirmed to Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan the government of Cork, save the Ostmen's cantred, with power over the shipping "towards the Cape of St. Brandon and Limerick, and as far as the water of Lismore." Prince John, *ante* 1199, granted Cork a charter.

Foreign merchants had already settled there. We find records of Richard of Lucca in Cork, 1172–1178, and "chattels of Flanders returned as in Corch," 1172–3. A *prise* of wines was taken 1234; but I found unusually little about its trade till 1284. It had then a grant of murage on ships of 100 hogsheads of wine, honey, timber, hides, skins of rabbits, squirrels, foxes, martens, wool, Irish cloth, linen, sendel, wax, pepper, almonds, rice, cummin, alum, woad, plates, caldrons, English and French cloth, mercery, kitchen utensils, and various provisions. In 1284 its new custom on wool and hides was granted to the Donati; and in 1295 Giles de Coutrey, a Flemish merchant, is mentioned. It exported corn to Gascony, 1297, and in the next year a burgess sent 15 hogsheads of wine to the king for leave to cut the city-wall, and bring his new ship to the water. The king remitted the wine if he rebuilt the gap. Cork, like its sister cities, had close relations with Bristol, and (like Dublin), its first charter granted it the laws, franchises, and customs of that city. Its other charters date 1242, 1291, 1442, 1500, and others from Charles I and George II. Its mint was established by Edward I, and the coins bear the words "Civitas Corcagie."[4]

[1] Cal. Justiciary Rolls (1295 mem. 6, 13, & 16 dorso).

[2] Besides the general authorities, see Histories by Smith, Ryland, &c., Annals Loch Cé; Charter Rolls, Hen. II. There is a curious suit in 1318 Plea Rolls No. 117, mem. 4 d), Ade de Conwey, mercator, and Ric. de Barry, the mayor, as to certain *homines extraneos* Adam and Philip Col.

[3] "Three Fragments of Annals," J. O'Donovan, p. 160.

[4] Besides general authorities, Histories by Smith and Caulfield, "Council Book for later items.

WEXFORD.—The mythical account of the bursting of the *loch* from Garman's grave[1] calls it a "branching broad haven of ships, assembly plain of the light boats." The foreigners of Loch Garmain were grievously defeated by the Irish in 1088. Its fleet joined that of Dublin to relieve Waterford in 1137. Weiseford was granted by Dermot, King of Leinster, to Robert FitzStephen in 1169, and the latter was besieged in the promontory fort of Carrick near it, and deceived into a surrender to the Danes. Giraldus says that the place imported wine from Brittany in 1183; herrings were bought there for the king's army in 1234; and fishermen from it were slain in the Isle of Man in 1217.[2] In 1283 the "Oustmen of Weiseford" had dwindled to some fifty-two men. Its customs, 1292–3, include dues on 41 hogsheads from St. Emilian. Gerard Chymbard of Lucca held the new custom there in 1295. The Pipe Rolls often record *prise* of wines down to the reign of Edward III. It imported spices, and the prior paid a pound of pepper or its value, 3 pence, in 1323. The name is said to be Waesfiordr, Wash-fiord like the *Wash* in Lincolnshire or in Cambridgeshire.[3]

ROSS.—Near the monastery, founded by St. Abban, who died 630, a place *Ros mic triun,* "washed by the tide," is named in his "Lives." The later English absurdly derived its name from "Crume, King of Denmark," and "Lady Rose Mac Crume,"[4] whom some alleged to have been a sister of Strongbow, 1170, who had walled it in 1265, or even in 1315! Earl William, the Marshal of England (son-in-law of "Strongbow"), made an oaken bridge there, whence the name *Rosponte*, as distinct from *Old Ross*, the monastery. A small town at once sprang up at it, where King John stayed in 1210, dating several letters from "Ross de Novo Ponte.' Henry III was hostile to it, and strove to divert its trade to Waterford in 1222; and a foreign ship was arrested there in 1235. Richard, Earl Marshal, granted a charter of deforestation to Old Ross (Rosberchon), near the New Bridge, in 1232. A remarkable contemporary poem[5] describes the walling of New Ross in 1265: among the various sections working on its walls are the

---

[1] Dind Seanchus, Journal Roy. Soc. Antt. Ir. (1872), vol. ii, ser. iv, p. 29.

[2] Annals Loch Cé. The Isle of Man was only gradually drifting from Norse to English allegiance. The Irish Government sent corn and wine to the King of Man, 1220. In 1235 the King guarded the sea towards Ireland (Close Rolls, xix Hen. III, i, m. 7). In the former year the King of Norway threatened him for doing homage to Henry III (*ib.*). There was also a slaughter of Irishmen in Anglesea in 1248 (C. D. I., No. 2952 and 2962).

[3] Besides general authorities, "County and City of Wexford," Herbert Hore, one of a series of works containing a mine of helpful material for Irish history.

[4] Comparable to the English derivations of Dublin from "Double Inn," Fethard from "Fighthard," Smerwick from "St. Mary's Wick," Teelin from "St. Helen," and Owney from "St. Anthony"!

[5] See "National Manuscripts of Ireland," iii, Appendix ii.

mariners, their banner showing a skip; they were 600 in number on successive days, and if all had worked at the same time 1100 men from the ships and barks should have been there. The vintners and merchants laboured on Mondays, and even the ladies assisted by singing and harping to cheer the workmen of "New Pont de Ross." The citizens had enlightened views on the subject of commerce; they claimed (doubtless with truth) to have built the first recorded Irish lighthouse at Rindubhain (or Dundubhain), which, from a literal translation of *dubhan*, got known as the "Tower of Hook." It stood before 1247 "a tower and a beacon for ships to have out of the issues of lands and a maintenance in money or otherwise."[1] King Edward favoured it, and discouraged its rival, 1277. Of its foreign merchants we read of Bandinus "Panick" of Lucca in 1281, the Donati of Florence, 1284, and the Flemish merchants, John Tobyn and Roger Bougre, in 1295. Its trade exceeded that of every other Irish port (see customs below); and it is the only inland town (save Limerick) on the portolan maps of Ireland. An interesting inquiry about Rosponte is embodied in the Plea Rolls, 1297, also noting the "acqua riparia villae illius" and Rosbargeon.[2] The "Snake" of Rosponte was ordered at that time (under the Common Seal) to carry oats to Bayonne for the king's army in Gascony. Other ships, "The Mary of Rosponte" and "The Snake of St. Laurence" (perhaps the first-named), are sent on similar errands. It was ravaged by Art "mac Murrogh" in 1333, had grants from Edward III in 1374, and a charter from Richard II to enable it to repair its walls in 1377.[3]

Drogheda.—The town developed from a ford, and, later on, a wooden bridge. As Monasterboice is frequently called the "Monastery of Drogheda," it is hard to select the actual early records. It seems to be mentioned at 861 and 1084 under the name *Drochet atha*. King John, in 1213, granted the burgesses "de Ponte" to have the liberties and customs of Bristol. The Castle of Blathac stood on the Meath side. So early as 1211 Peter Blunt, of Drogheda, had ships trading through the king's realm. In 1228 Drogheda (which was a double town "towards Uriel" and "towards Meath") was granted rates on hides, wool, and wine to build a bridge, and in 1234 for

[1] Patent Rolls, Hen. III, 1245–6, as to custodium of Rendeuan, 1247, and mem. 6, as to maintenance of beacon. The local saint's name, Dubhan, is, of course, *Nigellus*. See Mr. Herbert Hore's "New Ross," p. 219.

[2] Plea R. No. 29, xxv Ed. I, m. 25, at Limerick. See also Cal. Justiciary Rolls, vol. i. The Plea Roll, 1320, No. 128, m. 8, gives the king's grant of the previous year to Thomas, Earl Marshal, holding Rosponte of our gift as in the time of his predecessor, Roger Bygod. It mentions the water from Rendouan to the vill of Rosponte, dated at York, June 4th, anno xii.

[3] Besides general authorities, "New Ross," &c., H. Hore.

murage; the last rates were on wine, corn, flour, honey, wood, and hides; Irish, English, and foreign cloths; salt, iron, herrings, and other fish; sheep, oxen, pigs, cheese, butter, and lard. King Henry again gave a grant of rates for murage and repairing the castle and bridge, the quays, and ports; additional dues on skins of hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, and squirrels are named. He further granted a charter to Drogheda "in Meath"; it forbids anyone to prevent merchandize coming to the borough, or a foreigner to sell wine without permission of the burgesses. In 1250 Drogheda "next Uriel" joined Dublin and other towns to protect their mutual liberties. Other murage grants remain of Edward I in 1278 and 1295; the first includes ships of 100 hogsheads of wine or more, cloth, linen, and the other usual taxable goods. The 1296 grant had unusual items, such as dues on apples, pimpernel or chickweed, Irish jackets, rosin, basil, tin, stockfish, oil, and coloured glass, but did not include wine. In 1281 five hogsheads of wine were taken from the burgesses by writ; the dues were granted to the Donati of Florence, 1284. Drogheda imported Dordogne wine in 1292, and exported corn to Gascony in 1297, and Scotland (with wine for the king's army in the latter country), 1306. "Drogheda borough on the side next Uriel" sent wine to Athlone, and made galleys for the king's service. The new custom brought in large sums on both sides of the river.[1]

GALWAY.—The place was an early resort for ships, perhaps even being the Ausōba of Ptolemy. Five years after its destruction by Torlogh O'Brien, King of Munster, we hear of the ships of Dun Gaillimh in 1154.[2] In 1161 strange ships were seen in its harbour, and the fort took fire. It was a fishing-village in 1170, but was fortified by the O'Flaherties in 1230. The de Burghs, two years later, took, destroyed, and rebuilt it, making a castle, 1232. It was walled under Edward I in 1278,[3] murage dues being granted, 4*d.* a tun on wine, and dues on cloth, leather, salt, &c. It paid 12 tuns of wine yearly (a little earlier) to Tadgh O'Brien of Tromra, Co. Clare, to keep its bay free from pirates. It purchased wine from a Gascon, Domengun le Fraunceys, in 1281. The town rapidly prospered; its customs (£20 to £40 about 1276) rose to £200 by 1386. In 1282 the castle in the town of Galevy was repaired.[4] In 1306 Galway took 2*s.* on each hogshead of wine; but its trade was seriously affected by the wars of Richard de Clare with the O'Briens of Thomond, 1310–1318. The Church of St. Nicholas was commenced in

[1] Besides general authorities, Gilbert's Documents of the Anglo-Normans, Dalton's "History of Drogheda," "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce" (John Yeates), p. 137.

[2] Annals Loch Cé.

[3] Galway murage, 36 Rep. D.K.R.Ir., p. 47. Walls towards the sea, and a tower beyond the great gate, Pipe R.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

1320, and the bridge built in 1342. Edward III gave it a charter, and rates for murage on hides, skins lamb, goat, hare, wolf, cat, and squirrel), silk, baudekin, cordwain, and 4*d*. a tun on wine. In 1361 Galway ships traded with Lisbon and Lubeck.[1] The well-known legend of its mayor, Lynch, hanging his criminal son, presupposes direct trade with Spain. It was a fiercely English town; no citizen was allowed to bring in an Irishman "to boast," nor was any Irishman to be permitted to "strut or swagger" in the streets. Over one of its gates was a prayer for deliverance from the O'Flaherties. It is unmarked on the early maps; evidently (as seen above) its prosperity began from about 1320, when the first type of portolan had already come into being. It only appears on the second type of maps from about 1450.[2]

YOUGHAL.—The Irish *Eochaill*, yew wood. It was a Norse port in 850, when the Deisi defeated the fleet at Eocaill, and destroyed its fort. Le Hyochil, in the reign of Edward I, was granted (as held by the tenants of Sir Thomas de Clare, and at his instance), in 1275, rates on grain, fish, vegetables, live-stock, hides, cordovan, cloth, canvas, ropes, and food items; besides dues on ships of 100 hogsheads of wine, and on skins of lambs, rabbits, squirrels, and badgers. The foreigners mentioned at it are: in 1274, the Donati of Florence; in 1284, the Ricardi of Lucca; 1296, Percival Gerarduci and Bandinus "Paniky" of Lucca; 1294, Peter of Paris; the latter shipped provisions and wine to Wales for the King's army, and was granted a ship, confiscated from the Abbot of St. Mary in Dublin, for the misconduct of a *conversus* of that abbey; he had, however, the misfortune to lose the king's wine in 1300. In 1297, Reginald le Bark answered for the wine of the foreign merchants in Youghal. In 1321, its ferry brought in 62*s*. 2*d*. yearly. In 1358 Edward III gave it another murage grant, including "white wine of Gascony, Irish cloth, salewyche, worsted, silk, baudekine, fine linen, olive oil, coloured glass, and cordovan." In 1485 Youghal kept the coast from Ardmore Head, and Cappull Island to Forreign Island. There is a list of its foreign merchants in 1572 (but outside our scope), which shows trade with Lisbon, Roan (Rouen), Evera, Villa Nova, and Italy.[3]

KINSALE (*Cuan saile*, head of brine) was granted a weekly market in 1226. Despite its fine harbour (Endelford or Edilworth), the village had little trade. The Plea Rolls[4] give in 1318 an interesting suit. Certain unknown mariners

[1] "Making of Ireland," pp. 21–23. For the later Galway trade see Cal. S.P.I., 1557; and Hardiman's "Galway" App. xviii–xx, 58–208, with Canary, Levant, Spain, Toulouse, and Picardy.

[2] Besides general authorities, see Hardiman's "History of Galway."

[3] Besides general authorities, see Caulfield's "Council Book of Youghal."

[4] No. 123, mem. 54*d*.

took a ship with 150 butts of wine, besides iron and other goods, on the coast of Brittany, slaying its owners and sailors. They brought her to Kinsale, where the story got known; so the Sheriff of Cork sent Milo de Courcy to take the ship for the Crown. Philip de Barri of Carrydoogan and others armed and took the ship, removed its cargo, held it against de Courcy, and got it away, giving his supporters 3 butts (dolia) and 1 pipe of wine for their assistance. Kinsale only rose to importance too late to affect the early maps, perhaps not long before 1374, when it first returned members to Parliament. It was walled 1381, and was granted Endelford and a rate on goods by Richard II in 1395, and by Henry IV in 1409.[1] It appears as Guinsala from the Upsal Map (*ante* 1450) down. Edward IV granted its sovereign and burgesses control of the coast from the Bullman rock to the Durzees in 1482.

LESSER PORTS.—The smaller ports named on the early maps throw little light on foreign intercourse. Henry III borrowed money from a vintner in ARDGLAS. A *prise* of wines at DUNGARVAN in 1276 gives £16 for 8 tuns.

DALKEY.—In 1282 it shipped red wine to Are (Ayr) in Scotland for the king's army.

LEDENGYN.—Dingle, or Daingean Uichuis, in Kerry,[2] paid a substantial sum of £121 to the New Custom in 1282. In 1293 a Custom of £8 on 40 hogsheads of Leybourne wine was paid there by Stephen Cruys. The king in 1295[3] bade the sheriff of Kerry to forbid any victuals or goods likely to be of advantage to the Scots to be taken by merchants out of Kerry "at risk of their bodies and goods."

WYKINGLO, or Wicklow, a Norse settlement at an early promontory fort, though its ancient enclosures are very small, appears in early Norman records, and was a small town in 1225.

There is bare mention of several of the other ports and coast towns. CARLINGFORD sent two galleys on messages for King John. The following are mentioned, but no details of trade or shipping at the various dates:—Crackfergus, 1210; Luske, 1207;[4] Suerdes, 1279; Crocum (Crook, Waterford), Henry II landed there; it appears in the Calendar from 1199; Clere Island, Co. Cork, 1199: Ban, or Bannum, the Bann, 1215; and Rachrun, or Rathlin in the same year.

Of inland places (though not relating to the maps) I must note the wine

[1] Cal. Chancery Rolls, Ir.

[2] There was a slab in Dingle of the Rice family, 1563, with two roses, and the words—"At the Rose is the best wine." See also Justiciary Rolls, and App. D.K.R.Ir., No. 36, Journal R.S.A.I., vol. ii, 1852, p. 134.

[3] App. Rep. D.K.R., No. 37, p. 38; and C.D.I., 1293, p. 2.

[4] King John confirmed J., Archbishop of Dublin, in Lambeya, Irelandeseya, et Dalkeya, Suerd Porahelin (Portraine), Lusca, and other lands. Cal. Charter Rolls, p. 120.

trade. We have already met foreign trade at KILMALLOCK, CASHEL, TIPPERARY, QUIN, in Co. Clare, and other inland towns. KILKENNY; its murage rates from 1214 include dues on wine, pepper, saffron, ginger, spices, almonds, cummin, figs, and raisins. It is probable that this important place, with much of central Leinster, was supplied from New Ross, and so possessed no significance for foreign mariners. Wine was sent to TRISTLEDERMOT (Dysert-dermot, or Castledermot), Co. Kildare, for the Lords Justices in 1280.

ARDART.—In 1292 Ardfert, in Kerry, paid dues on 40 hogsheads of wine, and on 44 more later in that year. There was a market at Ardart, "in the square," in 1324, which was equally on the grounds of the Bishop and on those of the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Their predecessors had put up a wooden cross "as the sign of a market with a stocks." Nicholas, Bishop of Artfert; Michael O'Colneny, the Dean; Thomas Fitz Gerald, and others, without the Prior's knowledge, carried off the cross and stocks, and set them up further on within the Bishop's lands, to the detriment of the Prior. The case was tried that year, with various postponements.[1] In 1302 foreign merchants were forbidden to retail cloth at MOEN,[2] or Moon, Co. Kildare.

7. THE CUSTOMS.

In this subject expert study is greatly needed; to this I make no pretence, so will merely tabulate the *farm* of certain cities and towns, the *prise* of wines and the new customs, so far as preserved, in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, and (in the last item) of Edward II. Even on the surface these figures give an idea of the comparative wealth of the Irish towns and the fluctuations of trade; could the matter be exhaustively studied, we might see in the records (like the rings in a tree-trunk) a correspondence with external conditions. Certainly the effect of Thomas de Clare's fierce war in Thomond, of King Torlogh O Brien's terrible raid down eastern Co. Limerick, of Richard de Clare's war, and of the Bruce's war is apparent on slight examination. The drain too of King Edward's Scottish war and its interference with shipping, sailors, and supplies are discernible. The lesser ports had less to lose ("cantat vacuus"), but it is striking to find Limerick (a near neighbour, however, to perennial wars) falling to be a peer of Dingle and Wexford in commerce, despite its political and corporate importance.

As we had to note more than once, a usual impost on wine was one cask

[1] Plea Rolls, Edw. II, No. 147, mem. 11, No. 154, mem. 2.

[2] For all the lesser ports see App. Rep. D.K.R.; Cal. Doc. Ir.; Pat., Pipe and Plea R.; Cal. Justic. Rolls.

from before, and one from behind, the mast. The frequency of dues on ropes and canvas late in the thirteenth century is probably as much due to Edward's expeditions as to any increase in trade.

CUSTOMS AND DUES, 1274-1326.

Years.	Dublin.	Cork.	Limerick.	Waterford.	Ross.	Drogheda.	Galway.	Youghal.	Dingle.	Ulster Ports.	Wexford.	Report D.K.R. Ir.
1274–5	—	400	10	—	—	—	19	42	—	—	10	No. 36
1275–6	181	69	11	440	743	133	21	92	—	23	181	
1277–8	145	189	7	592	771	168	24	71	—	51	69 102	
1278–9	147	442	7	16	564	—	7	—	12	39	76	
1280–82	143	442	21	452	488	146	53	89	—	—	—	
1282–3	181	237	—	249	532 424	174	—	100	—	—	5	
1286–7	117	219	10	314	361	165	38	39	38	27	—	No. 37
1287–8	157	244	—	—	45	362	18	38	4	28	25	
1289–91	164	321	3	434	493	194	16	38	10	28	3	
1292–3	82	277	8	426	369	196	20	39	14	25	4	
1293–4	59	208	2	226	259	126	23	26	4	17	3	No. 38
1294–5[1]	76	128	17	600	89	161	—	—	—	—	—	
1296–7	187	362	35	—	289	85	—	—	—	—	—	
1295–9	—	116	4	142	120	—	68	68½	—	38	142	
1301–2	120	210	18	194	189	142	20	26	6	35	2	
1303–4	76	116	—	127	120	102	—	—	3	31	2	
1303–8	259	139	—	—	—	84	48	—	—	—	—	No. 39
1304–5	57	122	10	81	167	80	—	3	—	5	—	
1311–14	254	—	—	227	334	229	60	32	20	—	6	
1322–3	160	239	1	—	141	213	36	31	—	60	—	No. 4 1[2]
1326	—	157	—	170	83	127	—	7	—	—	6	

It is evident that the New Custom on wool and hides found little of such trade in Limerick. In 1287–8, the return for Limerick is 18*d.*; strange to

[1] Hides and wool could not be exported owing to French war. Rep. 38, p. 30.
[2] No Calendar in No. 40.

say, in 1224 that was the value of the King's goods in Limerick Castle![1] The accounts of 1299-1300 are quite defaced; the other missing years have no accounts. I only give pounds in this table:—

"Farm" of Cities. Dublin.—(200 marks)—1229, 1271, 1278–81, 1283, 1284, 200 marks; 1275, £204; 1276, £218; 1282, £265; 1287, £267; 1288, £319; 1293, £332; 1301, £111; 1302, £139; 1305, £221; 1307, £240; 1303–1308, £262; 1813, £260; 1314, £200; 1316, £120; 1317, £142; 1323, £200.

Limerick.—1231, £563; 1262, £283; 1272, £44; 1273–6, £517; 1279–80, £237; 1281, £183; 1282 and 1284, £73; 1284, £302 and £50; 1288, £138; 1296, £882; 1319, £437.

Drogheda (£40) (Uriel).—123. 1262 to 1325 paid £40 a year, and Drogheda (Meath), 40 marks. I also found Drogheda (Uriel), 1231, £20; 1281, £45; 1283, £50; 1289, £99; 1290, £42; 1293, £120; 1301, £180; 1317, £60; 1322, £80; and (Meath side) 40 marks, 1301, £145; 1317, £74; 1322, £26.

Waterford (100 marks yearly)—1236, £113; 1261, £66; 1272, £101; 1273, £146; 1274, £40; 1281, £200; 1282–6, £407; 1289, £526; 1290, £356; 1302, £436; 1315, £486; 1324, £160; 1325, £100.

Cork (80 marks).—1275, 80 marks: 1277–1279, £160; 1282–3, 160 m.; 1290–92, £165; 1302, £266; 1303, £133; 1306–7, £312; 1307–8, £224; 1307–9, £213; 1310, £53; 1314, £108; 1317, £169; 1319, £129; 1323, £67. "Kilsale," 1282–3, paid £39; Youghal, 1306–8, £48.

These sums are so complicated by other items and by arrears that they are only valuable as showing the comparative wealth of the cities.

There is, however, a direct list of great value, that in the "Early Statutes of Ireland" (by Dr. H. F. Berry), dating 1300. The Justiciar, before Parliament met, went round the chief towns to stimulate their generosity to the Crown. Selecting the towns on the early maps, we find the amounts contributed were—Drogheda (Uriel), 200 marks; Drogheda (Meath), 60 m.; Dublin, 200 m.; community of the Earl of Norfolk's borough of Ros, £40; Waterford, 100 m.; Dungarvan, £15, paid with 1,500 fish; Limerick, 40 m.; Cork, 260 m.; Fethard, 10 m.; and Gilbert, son of Thomas de Clare, of Youghel, £40, and five hundred weight of fish, worth 100 marks.[2]

Edward III, in 1353, established the staple, appointing Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda as *staple* towns. Foreign merchants could sell all their

[1] In 1663–9, the proportion of the Custom (taken at 100) was—Dublin, 40; Cork, 10; Waterford and Galway, 7; Limerick, Kinsale, and Youghal, 5; Drogheda, Derry, and Carrickfergus, 3; Wexford, Dundalk, and others, 1. (W. Pinkerton, Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. iii, p. 192.)

[2] From Justiciary Roll, 28 Ed. I, mem. 2, p. 231, Cal.

own imported goods at these without being charged imposts by the King's purveyors and others. The Irish had liberty to frequent the English staples.[1]

8. Irish Shipping.

A few particulars about the cost of shipping and sailors may be noted. The hire of ships between England and Ireland from the very beginning of the Anglo-Norman settlement in our island is frequently recorded. I select —1172. £4 for a ship bringing supplies to Ireland; 1184–5. 23*s.* for one bringing huntsmen, hounds, and horses; 1215. ten marks for two galleys with messages for King John from Carlingford to England; the same was again paid in that year to the mariners on a "cog" of Emulf de Colonia going to Ireland. The government frequently over-rode private shipping interests. In February, 1209, John ordered all the sailors on the coast of Wales, "as they valued their lives and chattels," not to cross to Ireland, but reserve themselves for his service in transporting his army from Aufredyncombe (Ilfracombe) at mid-Lent, "otherwise the King will hang them and the owners." In 1308 the "postage" of urgent letters from Ayr and Kircudbright to Dublin cost from £1 6*s.* 8*d.* to £1 13*s.* 4*d.* The names of many Irish ships are recorded. The *Portenuvel* galley, 1210; the *Gundewyn* at Cork, 1235; the *Damaysell*, which came from Ireland to Wales in 1245. In 1296 many are named—the *Godeyere*, the *Strethetaill*, and the *Sauneye* from Dublin; the *Garland* of Ross; the *Mariot*, the *Nicholas*, and the *Ave Maria* of Drogheda; the *Catherine* of Lusk; the *Holy Cross*; the *Godship* and the *Margaret* at Youghal; the *Snake*, the *Nicholas*, the *Gaudyn*; and the *Grace Dieu* of Cork; and the *Skydie*, the *Holy Ghost*, the *Blessed Mary*, and the *Holy Cross* of Waterford.[2]

9. The Cartographers.

Having (at perhaps too great a length) studied the causes that led to the knowledge of Ireland among the natives of Italy, and necessitated the making of maps of our shores, and having established records of direct communication with Florence, Lucca, and Pisa, and less direct ones with Venice and Genoa, we now must study the question of the map-makers.

For convenience of reference, I largely confine myself to the splendid atlases of Jomard (*Monuments de la Géographie*), Ongania, and Nordenskiöld (*The Periplus* and the *Facsimile Atlas*); several of these maps are reproduced in

[1] W. Pinkerton, Ulster Journal of Archaeology, iii, p. 184.
[2] Cal. Docts. Ir.

other works, but to cite these would confuse rather than widen our knowledge. I use the large reproductions of Haldingham in 1280, of Fra Mauro, 1459, and Ribero, 1529, copies of which Dublin readers can find in the Library of Trinity College. The later maps (after 1570) I use, but only to elucidate the older maps; but the crowd of coast-names on the Elizabethan maps might be studied in a separate paper to the great advantage of Irish topography. Besides these, I use a few originals not found in the facsimiles, such as the important one of Baptist Agnesi, so similar to the Upsal map. In my copies herewith, I omit the networks of compass-lines and the wind-roses, and merely give careful enlarged outlines and the names. The British maps are (apart from printed ones of the period) chiefly from the Hardiman collection in Trinity College, Dublin, with two of Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, who died in 1576.[1]

I will only very briefly give a few notes on the makers of the early portolans here used.[2]—Giovanni de Carignano was rector of St. Mark's, Genoa, 1306–1344; his maps date apparently a few years later, about 1310.[3] He stands alone in not exaggerating Clew Bay or eliminating Dublin Bay, but he makes Scotland lean over to the west (as the Ptolemy maps make it bend to the east) at right angles to England. Perrinus Vesconte, a Venetian, was making maps at Florence about 1327. Petrus Vesconte, a Genoese, who also resided in Venice (perhaps the same person), has left us the earliest dated map, which contains his only record—"Petrus Vesconte, of Janua, at Florence, 1311"; it is in the state archives of the latter city. The map has "Ybernia," but no legible coast-names. (*Periplus*, p. 17, fig. 6.) Angelino Dulcert, Dulceti or Dalaorto. His personality seems doubtful; some think him a Majorcan or Catalonian. The Dulceti were Genoese.[4] His map, dated 1339, is remarkable as one of the three earliest legible records, with full details of Ireland. Guglielmo Soleri, of Majorca, left

[1] British Museum, Donation A 18, f. 97, and ff. 101, 103.

[2] Kretschmer gives a bibliography and full particulars about the map-makers in "Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters" (1902, Inst. f Meereskund Univ. Berlin), pp. 104–148, for 75 portolans.

[3] The inscription runs—"Presbyter Johannes, rector sancti Marci de portu Janue, me fecit" Giovanne de Carignano, Rector of St. Mark's, Genoa, in 1306, died 1344.

[4] "La mappemonde d'Angelino Dulcert" (E. T. Hamy, *Bulletin de Géog. hist. et descrip.* Paris, 1886, 1887, and "Les origines de la cartographie de l'Europe," *ibid.*, 1888), also, "In Northern Mists," Nansen (transl. A Chater), vol ii., p. 226. There are outlines of his work in Proc. R.I.A., xxx (C), Plate XX. The maps are inscribed, "Hoc opus fecit Angellinus de Dalaorto ano domini mcccxxv (or xxx) de mense martii composuit hoc," and "Hoc opus fecit Angelino Dulcert ano mcccxxxviiii de mense augusti in civitate maioricarum." Besides the better-known map of 1339, there is the map of 1325, outlines of which have been published in several works (e.g., "In Northern Mists," ii, p. 226). Its date is indistinct, being either mcccxxv, or mcccxxx. The later map is Majorcan; some have supposed it to be a copy of an original by Dalaorto. See also Konrad Kretschmer, "Die Italienischen Portolane," pp. 117–118.

ten maps, dating about 1380; one is at Paris, and ten are in the Florentine archives.[1] JACOBUS GIROLDIS was a Venetian; two of his maps, dated 1422 and 1446, are in the Bibliotheca Marciana, in his native city; others at Paris and Florence; the name (like Dulcert's) varies as Giroldis, Ziroldis, Zeroldus, and Ziredis;[2] but F. Ongania gives it as Giacomo Girardi de Venesia. ANDREA BIANCO.—If (as is probable) he is the monk and geographer of 1300, the Venetian map,[3] bearing his name, but dated 1436, is a copy. GRATIOSUS BENINCASA, of Ancona, has left twenty-five maps, dating between 1435 and 1482. There are five in the British Museum, three at Paris and two at Venice, the rest at Florence, Palermo, Milan, Rome, Murano, Bologna, and Ancona. FRA MAURO CAMALDONUS, about 1450, executed the famous planisphere in the "Bibliotheca Marciana."[3] It has been frequently copied, as on the wall of a palace in Florence, and for Alphonso of Portugal, who died 1481.[4] ANDREA BENINCASA (whose map of 1469 I use) made other maps, now at Geneva, 1476, Ancona, 1490, and Rome, 1508. JUAN DE LA COSA was a companion of Columbus on his second voyage; he is also named "Bizcanio."[5] BAPTISTO AGNESI was not an original cartographer, but a neat and prolific copyist: his maps date 1529 to 1562, three at Venice, two at Paris, and others at Florence, Munich, Dresden, Gotha, Catania, Dublin,[6] and Stockholm. The last and latest is reproduced by Nordenskiöld. The Dublin atlas in Trinity College closely resembles the anonymous Upsal map of *circa* 1450. GEORGIO CALAPODA, of Crete, lived between 1537 and 1565; his beautiful and gorgeous map of 1552 can be studied in *Periplus*.

I have now only to give the tabulated results from some three dozen early maps, which I hope may help Irish topographers, who have, I think, never gone behind the Elizabethan maps. The outlines will, I hope, make

---

[1] Of the other superscriptions I may select, "Guilellmo Soleri ciuis maiorcaru me fecit Ano natiuitatis dni 1385"; "1380, Guillmo Soleri ciuis maioricaru me fecit"; "1367, hoc opus compoxuit franciscus piziganus Veneciar et domnus piziganus in Venexio meffecit marcus die, 12 decembris."

[2] Nordenskiöld only gives an outline and list of names from one of the maps. Some twenty-five of his maps are preserved. The 1422 map has the signature "mccccxxii mense Junii die primo Jachobus de Giroldis Veneciis me fecit"; the 1426 map, "Jachobus de Giroldis (or Ziraldis) de Veneciis me fecit Anno domin mccccxxvi."

[3] He painted a mappemonde on the wall of a room in the Monastery on the Isle of Murano near Venice ("Science and Art in the Middle Ages," ed. 1878, Paul Lacroix, curator of the Library of the Arsenal, Paris, p. 286).

[4] Also for the British Museum. See also "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients" (W. Vincent, London, 1807).

[5] See Alexander von Humboldt, in Dr. F. W. Ghillany's "Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim," &c., Nürnberg, 1853. There is a facsimile in Jomard's "Monuments."

[6] It has been said that the Dublin copy is unsigned and not Agnesi's. On the map of the Euxine, however, may be seen the inscription, "Baptista agnesi ianuensis fecit uenetiis, 1544, die 22 Octob." On the front page is "Leonardi Marinorii est liber iste Ancona." (See "Catalogue of Manuscripts, Library of Trinity College, Dublin," p. 158, No. 17.) It has eleven maps.

the subject more accessible to students away from the great libraries, especially in this country.

10. List of Maps and Portolans Used.

(The asterisk marks those illustrated here; the references are given by the dates.)

I may note that I do not give any names from Carignano and Petrus Vesconte, 1300–1320. Some early maps of which I have seen photographs or facsimiles do not give many names. The great fishing-banks off the Irish coast are sometimes shown. Dulcert, 1339, shows the three off Arklow; De la Cosa, 1500, the same; the Kish Bank, off Dublin, and two towards Ardglas. They are indicated by dots in Agnesi's map, 1544, and by small apparent islands in the maps of Freducci, 1497, and Calapoda, 1552. The Upsal map alone of the first two centuries gives correctly, but, as usual, without names, the Mayo Islands—the Iniskeas, Davillaun, Achill, Achillbeg, Cliara, Turk, Caher, and Shark, as well as Bofin. The map made for Henry II of France is nearly worthless, as the copyist could not decipher most of the names on his exemplar. The Voltius map is also careless. I give one of the Ptolemy maps to show their character; the last is non-Ptolemaic, a mere badly copied portolan.[1]

1300 Giovanni da Carignano (*Periplus* v), at Florence, Archives.

1327 Perrinus Vesconte, Venice (*Perip.* vii). Florence, Bibliotheca Laurenziana.

1325, *1339 Angelino Dulcert, Genoa? (*Perip.* viii). The first in the collection of Prince Tommaso Corsini; the second from the collection of M. Lesouef in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1351 Carta Navigationis auctoris incerti, called "Portolano Laurenziano Gaddiano," or "Atlante Mediceo" (*Perip.* x). Florence. B.L. Ongania "Sammlung von Welt- und Seekarten," v, No. 7.

1360 Anonymous (*Perip.* Table of names only, p. 43).

1367[2] Franciscus Pizigano and Marcus Pizigano (Jomard, *Monuments*, pp. 44, 45). Parma, Bibl. Nat.

---

[1] For the convenience of students using the Dublin Libraries, I may note that they may find the *Periplus*, Ongania's photographs of early maps (Verzeich, Einer Sammlung von Welt- und Seekarten), The Athos Ptolemy (Géographie de Ptolemée, Victor Langlois, Paris, 1867); Waldseemüller's maps, 1507–1516; the oldest map with the name America, Martin Waldseemüller (Illacomilus), ed. Fischer and Weiser, and many others in the National Library. The Facsimile Atlas of Nordenskiöld, and the maps of Fischer, Alonzo de Santa Cruz (ed. Dahlgren), 1892; Fra Mauro, De la Cosa, and Haldingham (facsimiles), and others, are to be found in the Library of Trinity College. I owe my best thanks to Mr. T. W. Lyster and Mr. A. C. De Burgh for assistance in finding the resources of the respective Libraries.

[2] His map of 1373 in Ongania's map, Pl. vi, No. 7.

1375 Catalan Atlas (*Perip.* xi), from Library of Charles V (1364–1380). Paris, Bibl. Nat.

"1380" Portolano Pinelli-Walckenaar (*ibid.* xi). France, collection of Baron Walckenaar.

1385 Guglielmo Soleri of Majorca (*ibid.* xviii). Florence, Archives.

*1426 Jacobus Giroldis (Ongania, map viii, No. 3 *Perip.*, table of names only, p. 43). Venice, Bibl. Marciana.

1436 Andrea Bianco, *circa* 1300 (*Perip.* xx; also Cal. Venetian State Papers, vol. i, and Ongania ix, Nos. 7 and 8).

1448 Gratiosus Benincasa, Ancona (*Perip.* xxxiii), in the Municipal Archives, Ancona.

*"1450" Charta Navigatoria auctoris incerti, Upsal (*ibid.* xix). The University, Upsal.

1459 Fra Mauro Camaldolese, Venice; (*Facsimile*; Ongania xv, No. 1). Venice, Bibl. Marc.

1467 Andrea Benincasa (*Perip.* xxxiii). Geneva, Bibl. Municipale, 2 Ancona.

1490 Bernardino Rizo (Kretschmer, It. port, p. 429).[1]

1497 Conte Freducci, Contes Hectomanusius Fredutius, Ancona (*Perip.* xxii). Fourteen of his maps are known. Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library.

*1500 Juan de la Cosa (*ibid.* xlii and *Monuments*, pp. 19, 20).

*1513 The Argentine Ptolemy (*Facsimile Atlas*, p. 11, Plate xxiv).

1516 "Cogniti orbis terre, maris," &c., M. Waldseemüller.

1529 Diego Ribero (*Facsimile* and *Perip.* xlviii).

*1544 Baptisto Agnesi (original, T.C.D. MSS. K. 3, 15. Similar to the Upsal Map and Homen's Map, *Perip.*). Dublin.

1546 Pierre Descelliers (*Perip.* lii).

"1550" Map made for Henry II of France (Jomard *Monuments*, pp. 25, 26).

*1552 Georgio Calapoda, Crete (*Perip.* xxvi). Stockholm, State Archives.

1568 Domingo Olives, Majorca (*ibid.* xxix).

1569 Diego Homen, Portugal, 1557–1575 (*ibid.* xxviii). Paris, Bibl. Nationale.

"1570" Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, died 1576. (Two maps, the larger "A.")

1572 Armagh, copper-plate map.

1589 Ortelius, "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum."

1590 H. Late Elizabethan maps, Hardiman Collection, Trinity College, Dublin.

[1] This is a book of sailing directions, but helpful in the names.

1593 Vincentius Demetrius Voltius, 1593–1607 (*Perip.* xxx). Nordenskiöld collection.

1609 Maps of the Escheated Counties in Ulster.

1610 Speed's maps of Ireland.

In that most valuable work "Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters," by Konrad Kretschmer (1909, pp. 568–570), a list of identifications is given of the Irish place-names. With most of these (as may be seen) I am in full agreement. I, however, owe it to antiquaries to state my reasons where I differ from such an authority.[1]

Insula de Tirconnell is identified with Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, and C. Seligra with Sligo. That is impossible, as all the maps put them north from Aran (*Abraam*), and Inismurray was not in Tirconnell. *Borderali*, or *Bordeali*, is given as Broadhaven, but many of the maps mark it unequivocally on the north shore of Clew Bay, where the second name corresponds to "Borg uaile" or Borrishoole, a small ancient village and abbey. *Le deng* is *The* Dingle, the *town*, not the *Bay*, as identified; the name "Dingle Bay" is not found in old records. *Drauert* (Draueri Draveri) is clearly the Irish *Dairbhre*, or Valencia, not "Ardeannagat." *Borela* is hardly Berehaven (usually *Bire* on the maps).[2] *Greâbaron* is not Glandore, but Glenbaron, or Castle Haven. Domborg is far more likely "Corborg" or Ros-Corbry (an important early harbour and cathedral town) than the obscure Dunbeacon. *Minart* is evidently the Irish Min ard, one of "the Ards," at Ardmore (which corresponds to the early map-place) rather than "Mine Head," a late English name, probably not earlier than the Earl of Cork's mines there. *Doniduab* (Donduabon elsewhere) is Dun (Rath or Rinn) Dubhain, or Hook, not "Duncannon"; it was the Beacon tower of New Ross. *Arecom* is not "Harristown," but (as in some early maps Ardroin) Ard drom, 'high ridge,' perhaps Bray Head, which its position suits. *Dondazo* is certainly Dundalk, but Darche is a different place, perhaps Greenore. *Monessi* (or Momeri, given in later maps as *Momoarger*, is evidently Bonamargy. *Dunsobrim* is the ancient and important *Dún sobhairche* or Dunseverick, not "Dunborrow Head." The author's hesitation as to *Fredit* being Fetherd seems unnecessary, as in name, situation, and port requirements it is fully suitable.

The suggestions that *Comicidella* is Killala, and *Ertamor*, Tramore (formerly *Stramore*), are plausible, but the former is doubtful, and the latter a probable corruption of Ardmore. The author is certainly right as to *C. Stronber* being a headland near Tralee Bay. I think it is evidently Kerry

[1] He gives 67 Irish names.

[2] Almost certainly Ui brathach or Iveragh; Ibarcai, Iborcal, borela on map.

Head, but the name is unrecognizable, unless Ca-stronbere be Cahercorbere or Cahercarbery. The book not being in the public libraries of Dublin, and my having had difficulty and delay in getting it, must excuse my having made comparatively little use of it.

I may here add an explanation, as an entire misapprehension appears to have arisen (outside Ireland) as to my paper on "Brasil," that it, like my present paper, is *not* an attempt at a wide treatment of the whole subject, but an application of the broad results to Ireland. As in the first I did not feel justified in bringing forward the vast mass of Asiatic and African myths (of which I was fully aware), so here it is not the European history of trade or the minute history of cartography[1] that is aimed at, but the connexion between Irish and Italian commerce, and the source of the minute knowledge of so remote an island shown in the Italian portolans.

11. The Place-Names, 1300–1600.[2]

The West Coast from the North.

Cap. Seligra, 1339; cap seligni, 1351; cauo sligra, 1367; seniba, 1373;[3] cauo sligra, 1375; selibla caro, 1384; c. senigla, 1426; cabo seligno, 1436; Cligra, 1497, 1513;[4] cauo libra, 1552. A cape north from Aran and next Tirconnell, perhaps the Bloody Foreland.

Abram, 1339, 1351, 1367, 1375, 1513; abrini, 1373; abroain, 1384; abraam, 1373; abinam, 1426; absan, 1436; abraim, 1497; abone, 1500; araim (misplaced after bordlai), 1552; North Isles of Aran, 1590 H 1. Aran, Donegal.

Tarnde, tarndo (?) (between abroain and brasta), 1384.

Anstona (north from Teelin), 1500.

Comincidela, comiadela, 1339; comincidela, 1375; cominadela, 1367; comincidela, 1375; corit, 1384; comicidella, 1426; comidela, 1436; comiatella, 1448; indolla, 1497; corinadella, 1513; comiadlla, 1552. Probably cauo de tela (Teelin) of other maps; see next name.

Teelin, c. de telin, 1450; c. telin, 1500; c. de telli, 1516; c. de telini, 1544; c. de telin, 1568; Tillyng, 1589; S. Heleynes Head, 1570 b; S. He Laynes heade, 1570 a; Broad hauen of Tellen, 1590 H 1. *Irish*, Telionn; Teeling, Donegal.

[1] So criticism as to omission of certain maps is hardly to the point where, confessedly, only certain groups most pertinent to Ireland were studied.

[2] They are about 153 in number.

[3] 1373 Pisigano map, Ongania, vii, No. 1.

[4] Probably this name Cligra is "the Cape Clear in the north of Ireland" so frequently mentioned by the Spanish in the Armada records; it certainly lay north from Killybegs, as is shown in the account of Alonzo de Leyva, Cal. Spanish Papers, 1558, p. 509, and is not Clare Island, as suggested by Froude.

Killybegs, calbei, 1559; calbeg, 1570; calbege, 1589; calebeg, 1590 H 1; *Irish*, na cealla beaga; Killybegs, Donegal.

Tirioc, 1500, between c. telin and abadia. Probably Tirioe. Tir Aodha or Tirhugh in Donegal.

Abadia, 1500. Perhaps the district of Ui (or Tir) Baghaine; Bannagh, Donegal.

Lesingor,[1] 1450; lesyngor, 1544; to the east of Teelin, probably in Co. Donegal.

Sligo, Slagoi, 1450; Singai, 516; Slago, 1544; Sligo, 1589; *Irish*, Sligeach; Sligo town.

Brasca, brasta or brafca, 1384; bsan, 1436; perhaps "brasta," if so, the prominent rock of Dun-briste, Downpatrick, Mayo.

Stags of Broadhaven, sach, 1351; staciar, 1373; estacas, 1450[2]; 1500; 1516; 1529; 1544; c. stacas, 1559; stakky; 1589; usually "Estacas" on later maps. The Stags of Broadhaven, Mayo.

Erris Head, c. deres, 1450, 1500; c. deros, 1544. *Irish*, Iorrus Domhnonn, Erris Head, Mayo.

Inisglora, not named, but the 1369 map gives the usual description "ibi semper p̃maner, incorupta." Inisglora, Mayo.

Ziberia, 1544; shown at the Mullet opposite last, perhaps Inis caorach or Iniskeeragh, Mayo.

Iniskea, Inisquei and Inesquei, 1450, 1516, 1544; Iusquei, 1500. *Irish*, Inis geidh;[3] Iniskea, Mayo.

Achill, archil,[4] 1339; arcill, 1384; ardroill (archoill), 1351; ardum, 1373; actilia, 1500; ardcille, 1436; ardroin, 1448; arclon, 1497; ardoim, 1552; esquesidas (?), 1526; Alkyll and Akkyll, 1572, 1589. *Irish*, Eccuil,[5] Achill, Mayo.

Achill Head, c. d'aquilla, 1450; c. d'aquil, 1500; c. d. agulla, 1516; c. d'aquila, 1544; c. dacilla, 1568, can akyll, 1590 H; c. d'equilla, 1593. *Irish*, ceann eccuil, Achill Head, Mayo.

C. Dolego, 1450; c. dolago, 1544; y. dellagh, 1516; y lago, 1593; An Island (?) south from Achill; perhaps in Clew Bay.

---

[1] Lesingor, perhaps Lesaimer (Saimer, River Erne), or possibly some name like Lissangower, or Lissanure; or L'esserou, Asheroe.

[2] Several names are duplicated on these maps, probably for convenience, as they are read in opposite directions.

[3] "Wonders of Eri," from the "Book of Glendalough"; in the "Book of Ballymote," p. 140; see "The Irish Nennius," p. 231; also *Insula Sanctae Gedhiae*.

[4] The *ch* is easily confused with *d*.

[5] The name is probably akin to the district Aigle or Oigle round Clew Bay. The popular derivation Achill, Aquila, 'eagle,' is unlikely, as in all place-names round the north and west coasts of Mayo the eagle-constituent is uller, ilra.

C. DANGLA, c. dangl, 1436; c. dangra, 1450; c. dangla, 1544. A headland between Achill Head and Clew Bay. Probably The Dangan, a headland, at Dun Kilmore, Achillbeg, Mayo.

UMHALL,[1] Omallos, 1351; lunium, 1426; omayle, 1589; *Irish*, umhall, or the Baronies of Burrishoole and Murrisk, on Clew Bay, Mayo.

BURRISHOOLE, boraculi, 1339; boraib, 1351; bordali, 1367; borderali, 1375; bordeali (burg uali), 1373, 1384, 1385; bordellus, 1426; burdelai, 1436; burdlas, 1436; bordelli, 1448; bordella, 1497; brotani, 1500; bordlai, 1552;[2] borace, 1593 H. *Irish*, Burgeis umhaille, Burrishoole, on Clew Bay, Mayo.

CLEW BAY ISLANDS, Isole ccclviii, 1327,[3] lacus fortunatus, 1325, 1375; Y. lagar, 1373; Insule lacaris (? laçaris), 1339; lacharis, 1351; Isole lacaris, 1367; ye lacari, 1436; larg, 1500; lacaris, 1497, 1513, 1552; y lacari, 1592; "lacus fortunatus ubi sunt insule que dicuntur insule sante benem(?), ccclxviii." 1497,[4] y laganis, y 368, 1373, 1384; y laçeris ye ccclxviii, 1426; y lago, 1593. The Clew Bay Islands; *Irish*, Insi modh; at present said to be 366 in number, Mayo.

Y. FORTUNATE, 1373, 1384, 1426, Insule fortunate, 1497. Y LUNERT, 1373; Y. LANMNRE, 1384, y lanmne, 1426. Y.LEABR, 1384; y. leatr, 1373, 1426 Islands of the group—The second is possibly Illanmay, the last Inishraher, or Inishlyre, in Clew Bay, Mayo; one may be Inisraithin.[5]

ILLIADA, illisada, 1450; illiada, 1544. If not one of the Clew Bay Islands, perhaps *Irish* cliara;[6] ("I. cliara"), Clare Island, Mayo.

TRIASANTA, 1373; perhaps same as next.

ILLA SCA, 1450; ye Sa, 1546; y santa, 1569. If not the last and one of Clew Bay Islands, it may be the pre-eminently "Holy Island" of Cahir Island. *Irish*, cathair na naomh (city of the saints), Mayo.

CONFRENCHLAN, 1339; constachelin, 1351; g. frelan, 1367; congeforlan, 1373; confrenchellan, 1375; congefrelan, 1384; confrealen, 1436; confrenclem, 1497; confrendlam, 1513. An unknown place on the southern shore of Clew Bay; no modern name resembles it.[7]

---

[1] Though so much alike, Umhal is a far older name than Ui Mhaille or O Maille.

[2] The Ptolemaic name, "alteregia" (Rigia hetera), appeared at N.E. corner of Clew Bay, 1552.

[3] Perrinus Vesconte (*Perip.* vii) seems to read in full "gulfo de issole ccclvii beate et fortunate."

[4] "Lacus Fortunatus, ubi sunt insule que dicuntur Insule Fortunata, ccclxvij" (366 and 368, as in other maps), 1467.

[5] In 1217 Donchad Ua Dubhda, with 56 ships from the Hebrides, sailed to Inis Raithin, one of the Insi Modh (in Clew Bay), in Umhall, and wrested his own land free of tribute from Cathal Croibhdhearg Ua Conchobhair (*Hy Fiachrach*).

[6] Though at the inner end of Clew Bay, it probably refers to one of the two islands (Cliara and Turk) at its mouth, between Achill and Bofin.

[7] Unless it be a very corrupt version of "Frehill Island," once far larger and more sheltering than at present. Cauo frehil illan, confrenchillan.

Contobarca, 1384: Contularca, 1373. 1426: . . . torim, 1436; bontustinca. 1475.

Shown near last at south shore of Clew Bay; perhaps cauo daquilla or c. dangra, as above.

Bofin,[2] 1327, 1339, 1375, 1384, 1385; boxin, 1373; boffin, 1351, 1426, 1497: I poin, 1450: boffus, 1448; escafin, 1516; boffim, 1552; bofay, 1436: Ipafin, 1544: Inspuffyn, 1572, 1589: Enys bophen, 1590, H. *Irish*, Inis bofinde, 667, 674. The refuge of St. Colman of Lindisfarne, "Insula vitulae albae"; Inis Bofin, Mayo.

Arelem, 1384; arlon, 1500; probably High Island. *Irish*, Ard Oileán, Galway.

Slyne Head, C. leme, 1450; C. de leme, 1500, 1593; c. de lema, 1516; leme, 1544; C de lome, 1559. *Irish*, ceann leime, Slyne Head, Galway.

Galway, galuei, 1450, 1544, 1596; Gallua, 1516; galbe, 1500; Galwey, 1589. *Irish*, Gallimh, Galway city.

Aran, Zarina, 1327, 1339, 1375, 1384, 1426, 1436, 1448, 1497, 1552; arein 1373; illas de arenas, 1500; doren, 1516; atenes, 1546; y d' arena 1450, 1544, 1593. Aran Isles, Galway Bay.

St. Gregory. S. Grigorü, 1450; S. Gregorio, 1516; San Grigorio, 1544 (at y d' arena); S. grigorio, 1593. St. Gregory's Sound, Aran.[4]

Oran, orotin, 1351; orart, 1497; orlon (oreon), 1500; oram, 1513, 1552;[5] Oran, 1531. Oranmore, Galway.

Ororum, oibrim, 1339; ororin, 1367; otorum, or ororum lacus, 1448; otorum, 1513; ororim, 1552; ororan, 1597. A place near Galway Bay, "oibrim" is clearly placed in Co. Clare, 1339; but it is given elsewhere as north of the Bay. Perhaps Oughterard, Co. Galway; Lough Oirbsen or Corrib; or Burren, Co. Clare.

Ancio, and ancis, 1544. Places to east of Galway Bay. Perhaps "Anri," or Athenry.

Blackhead, m. negri, 1450; m. neig, 1516; montes negros, 1593. Probably Black Head, *Irish*, ceann boirne, Co. Clare.

Conogor, or Conagar, 1450. 1544, 1593; Kil conic, 1589. Clearly Kilcoridon, or Kilcredane; Clare.

Magam, 1568. An unknown place in Clare.

---

[1] Perhaps Cahermamart, near the present town of Westport, at the end of Clew Bay.

[2] Inesbofyn with Inisarka, named 1251 in the Plea Rolls, No. 7. Anno ix Edw. I. m. 4 dorso.

[3] Promlet is given to the south in this map, and nearly opposite Aran. Galway Bay is entirely omitted, as is usual in the fourteenth century.

[4] Can the puzzling dry-stone round-tower at the Sound (saluted by fishermen as "St. Gregory's Grave") be an old beacon-tower?

[5] It gives the Ptolemaic "Regiae," inland from Oram and Rehi farther north.

"Y. S. SAMA ZINQUI," 1544. Apparently St. Senan's Isle or Iniscatha; but on 1367 and 1544 maps it seems a half obliterated "Limeriqui," a misplaced "Limerick,"[1] and on the 1450 map is represented by a duplicate "lamariiq."

LIMERICK, laymerich, 1339, 1351, 1375; lamerecht, 1367; lymerich, 1385; lanera, 1426; lemeri, 1436; limerish, 1448; lamarich, 1450, 1513; americh, 1497; lomeri, 1500; lamerie,[1] 1500, 1552; laneray, 1516; lamariq, 1544; lameri, 1552; lambrick, 1570; lamarqui, 1593. Limerick city.

CAPSTUNBREA, 1339; cauo strimbla, 1367; strambr, 1373; c. stronbere, 1375; c. stronber, 1426; c. astronbre, c. astrombre, and c. astronbre, 1497, 1513; casliumbros, 1448; astrobre, 1552. Perhaps carocorbere, Cahercarbree[2] or Cahercarbery, Kerry Head.

ARDIA, 1568, probably Ardart, 1590 H and Elizabethan maps. Ardfert, Kerry.

BRAZILL, "Insula de moutoniis sive de brazill," 1325; insula de brazil, 1339; insule de brazil, 1351; "isola de motonus sive de braçill,"[3] and a second "ysula de braçir" farther south, 1367; y. a. de brazil, 1375; y. a de braçill, 1426; isola de brasill, 1445; y a de berzil, 1436; brazill, 1450; ".i. del berzil, son dite fortunato," 1452; montoni, 1497; brazil, 1513; brasil, 1529; y^a. de brazill montonu, 1552; illa de brazill (double island), 1558; not on the British maps temp. Elizabeth. The mythical isle of Brasil, or, in modern books only, Hy Brazil.[4]

MOUNT BRANDON, Mons San brandani, 1300, 1445, 1513; La monta bña de Sci brandan, 1373;[5] San brandan, 1339; San brandani, 1351; mont. sce. branda, 1367, 1384; San brandon, Mont S. branda, 1375; monte S^co brandan, 1373, 1384; S^co brandag, 1426; S. brrodan, 1497; San branda, 1552; S. berondon, 1497; S. branda, 1558. Mount Brandon, Kerry.[6]

ST. MARY'S HEAD, c. de S. Maria, 1593; near dingles. Probably Smerwick,[7] the absurd "St. Mary's wick," Kerry.

---

[1] The map doubles several of the names in different handwriting to read from either side.

[2] So before 1750, Dr. C. Smith's "Kerry."

[3] This has been also read "y soli de mayotas sen de Bracis" (Birachi), "n cotus sur de Bracis" (Jomard). Konrad Kretschmer failed to decipher it (Die Entdekung Amerikas, 189?).

[4] Several foreign and British antiquaries derive the name from the red wood *brazil*. While my paper on Brasil was in the press, I found an overlooked note that 'brasill wood' was taxed in a grant of murage rates to Dublin, 1312. "De qualibet centena de brasile venali." (Patent Roll, v Ed. II, part 2, m. 7).

[5] So in the 1373 Pizigano map in Ongania viii.

[6] "Brendanicis montibus," Topog. Hib., Giraldus Cambrensis, cap. 2.

[7] The Elizabethan maps and papers derived Smerwick from "St. Mary's wick." It is really Norse "Smjor" butter or rich pasture; vik, creek—like Smör tue, Smör berg, and Smör, and Smör klepp in Norway; Smerrin (Smör vin), Smer meadow, and Smerwell Park in Shetland, &c. ("In Northern Mists," Nansen, trans., A. G. Chater, 1911, vol. i, p. 374, chapter ix.)

Blaskets, br . . . q . . . r, 1327; brascher, 1339, 1351, 1375, 1448, 1513; Blasct, 1373; brasch, 1450; blast, 1384; braschet, 1385; brascr, 1426; blaxar, 1436; brasquer, 1500; brasquei, 1513, 1544; Piaquei, 1516; brascier, 1552; brasquet, 1559; blaches, 1546; brasisney, 1529; Blaskey Iles, 1589. Blasquet or Blasket Islands, Kerry.

Ventry, uentri, 1450, 1544; Ventre, 1589. *Irish*, Finn-tragh. Ventry Harbour, Kerry.

Dingle, le ding, 1339; eleng (deng), 1351; le dinge, 1367; lelem, 1373; leleim, 1384; le deng, 1375, 1426, 1497, 1513; le deg, 1436; llendeg, 1552; le lein, 1384; le teng, 1448; dingli, 1450; 1544; ongh, 1516; danile, 1559. *Irish*, Daingean ui chuis. Dingle, Kerry.

Ibarcai, 1339; barchi, 1448; borela, 1375; boreal, 1513; boreall, 1552; iorcai (Iborcai), 1351; le borcal, 1367; loco Iorcal, 1373; raturch, 1436. *Irish*, Ui ratha, or Ui bratha. Iveragh Barony, Kerry.

Lamene, 1500. The Maine River, Kerry.

Valentia (Darrery), draiuer, 1339; drauerit, 1367; drauer, 1373; drauert, 1375, 1384, 1426, 1513, 1552; derio (?), 1450; dalierat, 1497; Valence, 1570; Balentyn, 1572, 1589; cornet, 1593, Darrery; *Irish*, Dairbhre. Valentia Island, Kerry.[1]

Lespor d'Irlanda, loye d'irlanda, 1351; loyg, 1373; l'esper d'irlanda, 1375; loco loscal and loyg, 1384; losse dirlanda, 1385; lesp⁹ dirlanda, 1426; lespor dirlanda, 1436, 1497; lellosques, 1450; lespere dirlanda, 1445, 1552. It lies opposite the Skelligs, and is probably Bolus Head; canboles, 1590. Kerry.

S. Michel, 1500. Probably Sceilig mhichil, St. Michael's Rock, Kerry.

Skellig Rocks. estelles, 1327; scalis, 1339, 1373, 1375, 1384, 1385; escallis, 1426, 1436, 1442; estella, 1450; stella, 1544; cocali (lescali), 1497; S. michel, 1500; Salilqui, 1516; escalis, 1552; stuella, 1568; steile, 1569; skillighes, 1590 H. The Skellig Rocks, or Skellig Michael, Kerry.

Quelles. quelmes, 1500; esquebes, 1516; quelbes, 1546; qualbos, 1568; quelles, 1559; quelbeg, 1593; skelmes, 1570, 1572, 1589. The name is difficult; the 1568 and 1569 maps separate them from Skellig. Nowell, 1570, puts them on coast between Valentia and Ballinskellig. Ortelius, 1589, shows the three spikes of the Skelligs and Lemon Rock) at the name. They may be Puffin Island, or even Scariff and Deenish, Kerry.

[1] The island is Dairbhre (Darfryy, 1295, Plea Roll), the Sound, Beal innsi, Bealinch or Valentia. It is not a Spanish term, as stated in the County Histories and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

THE BULL, bori (boui), 1450; boij, 1529, 1544; bœuf, 1546; bos, 1593; toro, 1559. *Irish*, Inis Bui,[1] The Bull Rock, Kerry.

THE COW, uaca, 1450, 1529, 1544; vache, 1546; uaco, 1569. The Cow (Nowell adds, "The Calf," 1570), Kerry.

SOUTH COAST FROM THE WEST.[2]

DORSEY ISLAND, dorrosey, 1339; drocata, 1351; drorox, 1367; Idrosey, 1373; drorosey, 1375; doro roxei, 1384; droso, 1385; drossi, 1497; Drossi, 1426; dro . . ., 1436; drosey, 1445, 1513, 1552; drusei, 1450, 1544; Dorsey, 1570, 1589; Dorsey Island, at the mouth of Bere Haven, Cork.

LOSE, 1373, 1384, between dorrosey and bric.

BEREHAVEN, bire, 1339, 1367, 1375; bric, 1351, 1373; brir, 1384; leri, 1426; biri, 1436; caur, 1552; brerel, 1559; Bere haven, 1570, 1589, biara, 1593, 1590, H 1. Bere hor, H 2. *Irish*, Oilean baoi beirre, and Beirre (Annals, 794, 865, and 1498). Bere Haven, Cork.

NARIR, 1384, between bric and caueno.[3]

CAO. CAUENA, 1339, 1375; cauo cova, 1367; cauena, 1373, 1384; cabena, 1426; "arair" (avena), 1500; caruena, 1513; clocheni (?), 1351; cave, 1552; c. dema, 1593. Perhaps the "C. Tauena," beside the "Haven of Balentinemore," 1590, H 2; but this seems too far eastward. If not, probably Killaconenagh, Berehaven, Cork.[4]

CLEAR ISLAND, Cap d'Clar, 1339; cauo de Clara, 1375, 1426; caurno, 1384; clarros, 1436; c. de clara, 1500; c. de claro and clara,[5] 1450; c. d'clara, 1552; c. de creara, 1559; Cape Clear, 1589; c. cleare, 1590, H; Cape Clear, and Clear Island, Cork.

---

[1] A legend said that when the Milesians invaded Ireland, Donn was wrecked on this rock, thence named his house, "Teach dhoinn." ("Irish Names of Places," Dr. P. W. Joyce, ed. 1895, Ser. i., chap. iv, p. 165). Another legend tells how Cairbre Muse had two sons by Duben, his mother. Nature avenged the outrage, the crops failed everywhere, so the nobles ordered the children to be burned. A druid saved one, whom he washed and put on a red cow's back. After a year the sin entered into the cow, and she swam out to sea and became the rock called from her Bo-bui (Leabhar na huidhre, 54 *a*, and Book of Leinster). See note in O'Curry's "Magh Leana," p. 28. The name *bui* in the maps is interesting as a pure Irish form, most of the others being recast.

[2] A list of the creeks, rivers, and coast towns of southern Ireland was made by Edmond Sexten for Henry VIII (Egerton MS, 19, 865); it gives—Ballinskellig, Birehaven, Bantry, Bancy, Omalins, near Crookhaven, Baltymo, Odrisol, Clondors (Glandore), Inishtortane (Sherkin), Bay of Ross O Gardy (Roscarbery), Kinsale, and Cork (Council Book of Kinsale).

[3] Pizagano, 1373, shows another "narir" between Osforde, rasal, and fredid, i.e., near Carnsore.

[4] The 1450 Upsal map duplicates several names turned in opposite directions for convenience in reading: estacas, inisque (inesquei), lamerich (lamariiq), &c., de Claro (clara) are so treated.

[5] Irish Cler. o hEidirsceoil assumed possession over the harbour of Cler (O Huidhrin, *circa* 1420, p. 105). Finntracht Clere, the birthplace of St. Ciaran of Saigher, A.D. 352–400; he preceded St. Patrick as a missionary in southern Munster, Clere, and Corca laidhe. Chauo de Chlaram, 1490.

Fastnet Rocks, fres, 1384; ftistanai (fastanai), 1500; fastanai, 1516, 1544; ffastanai, 1552. The Fastnets, near Clear, Co. Cork.

C. Damala, 1544; c. dema, 1593. A long cape to the West of Baltimore, perhaps cao cavena, Cape Tauena.

Corca laidhe, corcala, 1450; corcala, 1544, 1559; O Hidriscoll, 1570; dorcola, 1593. Corcalaidhe; Corcalee, O Driscoll's country, Cork.[1]

Baltimore, beltario, 1450; balontum, 1500; boltamor, 1544; bellemor, 1559; balatimore, 1570; baletymore, 1539; Ballamore, 1590 H 1; Balentinemore Haven, 1590 H 2; beltromore, 1593. Baltimore, Cork.

Castlehaven (Glenberon), Glenbaton, 1339; girbarim, 1367; glenberon, 1375; glenbarom, 1360; greabaron, 1373, 1384; greneron, 1426; greabaron, 1436, "bao," 1500; glanato, 1513; gravarem, 1552; galueram, 1593. *Irish*, Gleann berchon; Glenbaraghan Parish, Castlehaven, Cork.[2]

Scetan, 1450, east from Clear, perhaps scelan, Scullane Point, near Castlehaven, Cork.

Glanaro, 1513, between Caruena and domborg.

C. muacer, 1497; between stackiar and comborg.

Narir, 1384, between Bere and Clear; anigro (near Corcala and Clara), 1450.

Stacks, Stackia, 1497; aga, 1544 (between corcala and fastnai); araxr, 1500, near Clear; perhaps Stagas. The Stags of Castlehaven, Cork.

Donborg,[3] 1339, 1375; donbur, 1373; Comborg, 1351, 1497; donborgo, 1367; donbor, 1384, 1426; donborgos, 1436; domborg, 1360, 1513. It is probably coriborg, Carbery, Ross Carbery, or perhaps Glandore (conedore, 1576; condore, 1589, near Ross), Cork.

Olarcos, and olarcus, 1339, 1360, 1367, 1373, 1375, 1384, 1513; ollarcos, 1426; ollra ... 1436; oborcos, 1497, 1596; olarco, 1552; dorcola, 1593; between Baltimore and Seven Heads. There was a family of Ua doirc (now O Durk) in Corcalee, and others, Ua Bairr (now O Barr) and Ua Laoghaire (O Leary).[4]

Seven Castles,[5] 7 casteles, 1450; c. sauena, 1513; vij castellos, 1500; 7 castyles, 1544; 7 castelle, 1552; seva castillas, 1559 "Five castles," 1590 H. The Seven Heads, Cork.

---

[1] See above for the history of Gascon wine trade with Corcalaidhe before 1234.

[2] Ecclia de Selenbercan, 1302, Papal Taxation, Exchequer Rolls. The editor wrongly identifies it with "Skibbercean." See also Miscellany of Celtic Soc. "Corcalaidhe," pp. 88, 99.

Possibly comborg (as in other maps), the c with the long up-curl resembling d, e.g., Areill, Ardill.

[4] Miscellany, p. 53, Ui Laeghaire (Iveleary), or less probably Ua Doirc, p. 51.

[5] Shown as seven sea rocks on one Elizabethan map. Hardiman 1, *circa* 1590–1610.

TAMELAT[1] and camelat, 1339, 1375, 1497, 1513, 1552; ormelac, 1367; tammallut, 1426; thamerat, 1436; camala, 1569; comela, 1351; Tymolay, 1589; ymelag, 1570; Tomalech, 1590 H 2. *Irish*, Teach molaga, Timoleague, Cork.

OLD HEAD, cap veio, 1339, 1450; c. veco, 1360; c. pucis, 1367; cauo veyo, 1375; c. vento, 1497; c. vicio, 1500; c. antiquo, 1513; c. rachio, 1544; c. vechio, 1552; c. bechi, 1559; ye olde Head, 1570; old Heade, 1590 H.[2] Old Head of Kinsale, Cork.

KINSALE (Port), adelfronda,[3] 1339; adelforda, 1360, 1497; adelfrud, 1367; arfor, 1373; andelfronda, 1375; arifor, 1384; andelitadi, 1513; cantelfronta, 1361; andefronda, 1426; fronda, 1552; c. deforda, 1593; Endelford, 1395 (Patent Roll); guisalla, 1436; quizala, 1450; quinsal, 1500; quisala, 1516, 1544; quinsala, 1559; Kynsale, 1589. *Irish*, ceann tsaile; *Anglo-Norman*, Kinsale de d'Endilvorth. Kinsale town and harbour, Cork.

GODELFORD, grodelfronda, 1339; godeforda, 1360; c. defrid, 1367; godelfronda, 1375; godefronda, 1426; godenforda, 1497; godelfida, 1513. A creek near the last, probably Oysterhaven, Cork.

CORK, corch, 1339, 1375, 1436; corh, 1384; corco, 1367; arcofida (?), 1426; corca, 1351, 1450, 1544, 1569; corkë, 1570; "for" (cor), 1360; corcha, 1513, 1551; Ercofidi, 1593. *Irish*, corcach mór.[4] Cork city.[5]

HORLES, 1513 (between cork "and minart"), near Youghal.

BALLYCOTTIN, bailicoti, 1375; balicotis, 1426; balicoti, 1436; balcotini, 1544 belcotrin, 1559; ualicot, or ualicet, 1497, 1552. Ballycottin Bay, Cork.

YOUGHAL, liocla,[6] 1339, 1426, 1593; liache, 1351; lioc, 1360; liocle, 1367; uocla, 1436; liocles, 1375, 1497, 1513; oland, 1384; mocola, 1450, 1516, 1544; mocora, 1569; yougholde, 1570; Ioughhull, 1589. *Irish*, Eochoill, eochla; Youghal, Cork.

MINARD, 1360; minart, 1375, 1497, 1513, 1593; minar, 1426; minard, 1436. East of Youghal (serve 1360 map), and near Ardmore. *Irish*, Min-ard (high cliff-flat); Ardigna, or Ardoginna Head, Waterford.

---

[1] Thamolagi (Papal Taxation), 1302. Tamelag, 1323 (Plea Rolls).

[2] *Chauo vecchio*, 1490. *Cabo de Velho* in Spanish documents. See Caulfield's "Council Book of Kinsale," p. iii.

[3] The old seal of Kinsale bears "sigillum commune Kinsale de d'Endilvorth." Professor George Stevens, of Copenhagen, writing to R. Caulfield ("Council Book of Kinsale," p. 2), says the name means 'outer ford,' like Endilmere, 'outer lake.' It is Endelford in two Patents, 1395 and 1408.

[4] Smith's "History of Cork" wrongly gives the name as Corca bhascinn; the latter is really in Co. Clare.

[5] Rizo in 1490 names "The City of Corchora, which is a good city, large and merchantile." He speaks of its cloaks such as are worn in winter by the Portuguese and Castilians.

[6] "*The* Youghal" is common in early Anglo-Norman documents.

Ardmore, arimor, 1426; armari, 1497; ortimar, 1552; ardmore, 1590. *Irish,* Ard mór.[1] Ardmore, Waterford.

Crosbar, 1436, east of Ardmore. The name suggests Crossford, near Ardmore.

Dungarvan, gava, 1339; garuein, 1351; grava, 1360; ganar, 1367; carani, 1436; dungalvani, 1450; granani, 1513; in galuan, 1544; den galuan, 1569; "car," 1593; Dūgarvā, 1589. Dungarvan, Waterford.

Obeba, 1384; ibàb, 1373.

Ertamor, ertani, 1513; ertano, 1532. Between Youghal and Crook. Perhaps (as Kretschmer thinks) Tramore; or else Ardmore (Artimor).

Croc, 1375; "c.," 1384, 1426, 1436; croc, 1552; croke, 1570. Crook, Waterford.[2]

Waterford, uataforda, 1327; gataforda, 1339, 1375, 1426, 1450, 1544, 1593; aniforda, 1367; garaforda, 1360; gariford, 1351; gatafreda, 1373; gatiforda, 1384; charaforda, 1436; garafonda, 1459; gatafor, 1500; ganfot, 1516; ganaforda, 1513; gatafforda, 1552; gateford, 1559; Waterford, 1570, 1589. *Norse,* vedrafiord, weatherfiord. *Early Norman,* vadrafiord, waterford. Waterford city.

Leflumi, 1373, 1384; the confluence between Waterford and Ross.

Ross, rois, 1339, 1351, 1375, 1552; roxi and rofin, 1360; roxin, 1384; roi, 1450, 1544; roxa, 1373; rox, 1426; roye, 1513; aros, 1593. *Irish,* Ros mic treoin. New Ross, Wexford.

Ardart, 1436; ardamna, 1367, after gataforda, before dondoabo.

Dondubon, donduban, 1327; dondub, 1339, 1436; dondiab, 1351; dondab, 1373; dōdab, 1426; donibab, 1384; condali, 1467; conciab, 1497; dontal, 1513; candab, 1552; Thoure of Heekel, 1572, 1589. *Irish,* Dun dubhain, Rath dubhain, ceann dubhain, Rin dubhain, Tower of Hook, Wexford.[3]

Fethard, frith, 1327; fredit, 1339, 1360, 1367, 1375, 1384, 1426; fredid, 1373; fedis, 1436; indit, 1467; frerit, 1497; fredit, 1513; ffredit, 1552;

---

[1] So in "Life of St. Deglan."

[2] Krok, 'a creek or winding bay'; cf. Kroksfiordr in Iceland, not from *Cruach* (R.S.A.I., vol. xxi, p. 479). Here Henry II first landed in Ireland, 1172.

[3] Named from Dubhan ailithir, priest and pilgrim, 492 (Colgan, Ac. SS., Feb. 11); Dubhan, literally 'fishhook.' It is called "le Hoke" in a grant of messuage to Henry fitz Philipo "corkensis" in 1370, hence Hook, and Ortelius, 1589, "Thour of Heekel." It is Hekel in another map. Old Anglo-Norman forms are Ryndoune, Rendeuan in 1245–6, Randouan, downe, deuan, and doyan (Pat. Rolls, Henry III). It was a beacon tower, built before 1247, probably by citizens of Ross who claimed it (see R. Soc. Antt. Ir., vol. iii, pp. 194–199; vol. xii, p. 559, Patent Rolls, Hen. III, m. 7). "Cauo Dombal ala bocha de Roxa," 1490. See also "Accuratissima orbis delineatio sive Geographia vetus," 1677. Torre de belloc, 1490, is distinguished from Dondab. Kretschmer thinks it Carnsore, Wexford.

freda, 1551, 1593; bay of fidert, 1589. *Irish,* Fiodh ard. *Norman,* Fytharid (deed, 1192–1205, at Canterbury). Fethard, Wexford.[1]

BANNOW, elleibano, 1327; clelane, 1351; leban, 1360; elebano, 1367; and ellebano, 1384, 1426, 1436, 1467, 1552; elebani, 1513; banno, 1570; Bonoughe, 1590 H 1; Bannogh, 1590 H 2. Bannow,[2] Wexford.

CARN, 1384. Carn Parish and Carnsore, Wexford.

SALTEES, saltis, 1327, 1339; ganf (salis), 1367; saliez, 1426; saltei, 1450, 1544, 1552; y de sallos, 1500. The Saltees, Wexford.

TUSCAR,[3] tisalt, or risalt, 1327, 1339, 1375, 1552; tasal, 1384; rasal, 1373; rixalt, 1360, 1593; risal, 1367; tasart, 1436; risata, 1497; tissalt, 1426; risati, 1513; ussalt (risalt), 1467. Tuskard, 1570, 1590 H 2. Tuskart and Tusart, 1580. The Tuscar Rocks, or perhaps even Rosslare, Wexford.

EAST COAST FROM THE SOUTH.

RIOSIA (?), 1384. Perhaps Ross(lare).

WEXFORD, Oxfordo, 1351; Ocordo, 1360; ocfordo, 1367, 1467, 1552; Osforde, 1373; ocsorda, 1375, 1497; auforit, 1384; cossard, 1426; casorda, 1436; arforda, 1450; orfordo, 1513; ariforda, 1544; achefort, 1559; Weshford and Washeford, 1570. Wexford[4] town.

RESNAL, (1) rexna, 1360; rexnas, 1367; resnax, 1375; resnas, 1426; ressnas, 1436; renal, 1497, 1552; remes, 1593. (Form 2), teynos, 1339; tenab, 1513. Given after Wexford, either Rosslare, or Courtown Harbour, on bounds of Kiltennal, Wexford.

ARKLOW, archo, 1227; archelo, 1339, 1375; arelo, 1351; arcelo, 1360; achelo, 1367; argelo, 1373, 1384; arcello, 1426; arcelo, 1436; adicarlo, 1450; arceslo, 1497; arcello, 1513, 1552; archo, 1559; Arklo, 1570; Arklowe, 1589; Arkelo, 1590, H 1. Arklow, Co. Wicklow.

---

[1] For a good account of Fethard and Bannow, see Mr. Herbert Hore's Histories of Wexford. Section Fethard, p. 307.

[2] Banua, Insula Banuenis, Giraldus, Expug. Hib., cap. iii; "le banne" in the "Song of Dermot." The Irish name Banbh (apparently "young pig") is said to be the name of a Firbolg chieftain, brother to Slainge, from whom the Slaney is alleged to be named.

[3] Earl Thorkill held "all the way from Tuskar Skerry, down to Dyflin; hosts obeyed him, royal Torkill, raven-feeder," *circa* 1064. Orkneyinga Saga (Rolls Series), vol. iii, p. 59.

[4] It is strange that neither the Irish nor the Anglo-Norman forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries affect the maps. The name is Weisefordia (Giraldus, Expug. Hib., cap. 2); Weseford and Lochgarman (in the "Song of Dermot"); and "Loch Carman and its foreigners" in Annals, 1141–1170. Most usually Weyseford, but no foreign map gives any approximation to this form.

Wicklow, Uichello, 1327; (O)chelo, (?) 1339; Uicelo, 1360, 1569; Vechlo, 1367; augelo, 1384; quello, 1426; c. dicailo, 1450, 1544; Wachllo, 1467; Uicaillo, 1497; guello, 1426; Vitello, 1436; Vicello, 1513; Uizello, 1373, 1552; Wickloye, 1570; Wykelo, 1589. *Norse,* Wykinglo. Wicklow town[1] and Head.

Arelcito, 1467; Arecom, 1339, 1360, 1375, 1426; ar, 1327; arcum, 1367; arcion, 1351; arclon, 1467; arerom, 1497; ardroim, 1513; arcom, 1552; and Landei, 1593. Unknown places between Wicklow and Bray. Only Newcastle and Delgany are of any note.[2] The form ardroim is like Ard drom, 'high ridge,' and might be Bray Head.

Bray,[3] bri, 1327; bre, 1339, 1360, 1367, 1373, 1375, 1384, 1426, 1497, 1513, 1552, 1590 H 2; Braye, 1570; Brey, 1589. Bray, Wicklow.

Dalkey,[4] dalquei, 1450, 1544; Dacey, 1590 H 2. *Irish,* Dealgh inis. *Norse,* Dalkey. Dalkey, Co. Dublin.

Dublin, dunuelin, 1327, 1497; denuelin, 1339, 1384; donuelim or donueli, 1351, 1367, 1373, 1426, 1490; deuelin and devellin, 1436, 1450, 1544; doneli, 1516; domuelin, 1360; du . . . elim, 1384; deolin, 1500; denvelim, 1513; douelim, 1552; dobelin, 1559; donalui, 1593. *Irish,* Ath Cliath, dubh linne. Dublin city.[5]

Artaine(?), arata, 1469; between Dublin and Howth. Probably Artaine Castle, Dublin.

Howth, hou, 1450, 1513, 1544; hout, 1559; hothe, 1589; Hoth hede, 1570; *Norse,* Hovd, Hofed. Howth, Dublin.[6]

Ireland's Eye, irlandeyse, 1327; irlan . . ei, 1339; irlandesa, 1351; irlandaxea, 1360; irllandaxia, 1426; irlandess, 1436; irlandasy, 1430; irlanda, 1513; la . . . ais . . , 1450; le . . . ais . . , 1544; irlandesei

---

[1] Wikingelo. Giraldus, Topog. Hib. Hist. 2, cap. xxi. The name is common in early English records, e.g., deeds of Thomas, Abbot of Glindelac, who held Wikinglo, Wikinkelow, and Wikingelo (Reg. Abbot of St. Thomas, Dublin). Here again the Anglo-Norman form Wikinglo is not represented on the early maps. It is Wikinglo and Kylmantan in the "Song of Dermot"; Cil Mantain, in the Annals; Wykylou, in the Papal Taxation, 1302. The castle was commenced by Maurice FitzGerald before 1176; his sons were compelled to accept Ferns in exchange; the place was of little importance. It was destroyed by the Irish in 1301.

[2] There is a district name *O Briade* for this district in Nowell's map, 1580; perhaps the Ardroim of the maps.

[3] Bree deanery, Papal Taxation, 1302; Brai, Bree, Bre, in early Norman deeds. See Reg. Ab. St. Thomas, Dublin, Rolls Series, pp. 149, 170, 171.

[4] *Irish,* Dealg Inis, Thorn Isle; *Norse,* Dalkcey, with same meaning.

[5] Anglo-Norman, Duvelina, Diuelinum (Register of St. Thomas' Abbey), Dublinum, and Dublinia.

[6] Edros heremos, island in Ptolemy; Ben Edair, in Irish; Inis MacNessain (sons of Nessan, seventh century) in Irish; Irland's Ey in Norse from Irish alternative, Inis Ereann (Dind Seanchas) (Eire, not Ireland, but a woman's name).

(misplaced after Drogheda), 1450, 1544 ;[1] irlan occla, 1497; Irlandesey, 1589; ulancosa, 1593. Ireland's Eye, Dublin.[2]

CANUTOR, 1569, between Howth and Malahide, Dublin.

CASINA, 1373, perhaps same as last.

MALAHIDE, malaida, 1450, 1544, 1567; malahide, 1570. *Anglo-Norman*, Molaghiths, 1393.[3] Malahide, Dublin.

SWORDS, Ordes,[4] 1351, 1360, 1367, 1375, 1497, 1513, 1552; "des," 1426; sordes, 1436; lordes, 1450; oraro, 1460; indes, 1497; order, 1467; Sword, 1570. *Irish*, Sord Columcille. Swords, Dublin.

C. TET, 1384, between Dublin and nida; c. destr, 1360; cap ster (before nida), 1367.

LUSK, losco, 1360, 1367, 1436, 1497, 1513; lossar, 1426; llesco, 1552. *Irish*, Lusca. Lusk, Dublin.

MIDA, 1351; unda, 1360; nida, 1367, 1373, 1384. Probably Co. Meath.

DROGHEDA, dorga, 1339; dondrich, 1351; drogda, 1375; drossda, 1426; drigodella (misplaced), 1436; drogodella, 1450; dragodal, 1490; drogodalla, 1544; drocht, 1467; drogde, 1497; drogda, 1513; drigaydalla, 1516; droxda, 1552; drigoda, 1559; drogodea, 1593; Droday, 1589. *Irish*, Droichead atha, Drogheda town.

DUNDALK, dandul, 1339; dondri, 1351; dondazo, 1360; dundal, 1569; Dundalk, 1589, 1590 H 1. *Irish*, Dun dealgan.[5] Dundalk, Louth.

DARCH', derch, 1327; dairhe, 1339, 1513; "cha," 1375; darce, 1367; darchen, 1426; darch, 1436, 1467, 1552; darcha, 1497; dara, 1593. A place north from Dundalk. If it be misplaced on the maps, it may be Madarge point, near Mourne. See Speed's map, 1610, perhaps Greenore.[6]

C. DESTER, 1360 (north from Dundalk); c. ster, 1384, 1436 (between mida and strangford), 1513 (between Lusk and Drogheda); l. lasto, 1367; c. stet, 1497, 1552 (north from Drogheda); loscar, 1426 (north from darchen); c. lestus, 1450; isfec, 1559 (if misplaced).

DERO, 1360, north from the last. Possibly a misplaced "derch."

---

[1] The same map and that of 1544 gave it correctly at "hou"; someone obliterated it there, but "... la .... ais" is still legible.

[2] This islet was probably important as a sea-mark for Malahide and Swords creek.

[3] "Irish Council Roll," p. 163. Willielmus Veer de Howth and Johannus Greyn de Molaghiths were to provide and buy fish for the Lord Justice's household, 1393.

[4] Initial letter probably, as in other cases, obliterated by painted border.

[5] Or Dealgan, "The Constable of Dealgan slain," 1317 (Ann. Loch Cé).

[6] The only place suitable as a shelter for coasting-vessels is at the creek inside Greenore, Co. Louth.

Argules, 1450; argula, 1500; argales, 1544 (in the three maps it lies north from lestres, between it and Carlingford); argalan (north from isfec and Dundalk), 1589.[1] If it be north from Carlingford, it is evidently Ardglas, Arglas, 1570, 1589. Ardglas, Down.

Carlingford,[2] Carenforda, 1327, 1339, 1351; Carforda, 1367; Calreforda, or Calirforda, 1426; Califorda, 1436, 1450, 1544; Caraforda, 1497; Careforda, 1513; Carefforda, 1552; Carlefor,[3] 1559. Carlingford, Co. Louth.

Lestr, 1513; after Carlingford, but perhaps a misplaced "Leiston"; also Chanos near the same.

C. Feret, Cap far, 1373; felet, 1375; C. feret, 1426, 1593; frich? 1467; "isfec," or isfer, 1559: between Carlingford and Strangford.

Strangford, stan, 1327; stanforda, 1339, 1351, 1360, 1367, 1373, 1384, 1426, 1490, 1497; stariforda, 1451; estaforda, 1450; estanforda, 1513; estafforda, 1552; Califorda, 1544; Califford, 1559. Strangford, Co. Down.[4]

Momolag, 1450, 1544, between Strangford and Larne.

Camblatinus, 1559, between Strangford and Bonamargy.

Carrickfergus, chjnfrich, 1327; chenofirg, 1339; donochfirg, 1351; chenofrit, 1360; chenochfrig, 1367; chenofris, 1426; Zenochfrich, 1497; chenofric, 1513, 1552; Zenofri, 1373; Zenofro, 1384; anigri, or anigro?, 1516, 1544; Knockfergus, 1589; Carrickfergus and Knockfergus, 1609. Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.[5]

Bria, Zibiri (le biri), 1450; Zibera, 1544; Brioli, 1570; The Bryalle, 1610. Probably "the Briggs" rock outside Belfast Lough.

Ullerford, onerford, 1327; ulrford, 1360; oneforda, or olleforda, 1373, 1384; urford, 1467; uelford, 1497; verforda, 1513; uerfforda, 1552; Olderflete, 1570, 1590, H1; Onerflate, 1612. *Irish*, ollarba.[6] *Norse*, ulrickford. Larne Lough, Co. Antrim.

[1] There is evident confusion in several maps, probably caused by Califord, the alternative to Stariford (Strangford) being mistaken for Carlefor (Carlingford). The 1550 map seems in the wrong here.

[2] Karlingforda, Giraldus, Topog. Hib., cap. x. It is put to south of Drogheda (drigodda) in 1436 map. Cairlinn in the Irish Annals, O'Clery's *Calendar*, calls it Snamh ech (apparently, 'horses' swimming-ford'); but it is Snamh Aighnech in the "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill."

[3] Carlingford being "Carlefor" on 1569 map, and Califorda, 1544.

[4] Irish, Loch Cuan; see Annals 874, 376, 922, 924, a Norse or Danish settlement.

[5] "Chastelle de Cnokfergouse," 1393, Irish Council Roll, p. 123.

[6] Ollarba inbher (*inbher* rendered *fiord*). Wolverflate, Olar, Olor, and Ollar in various sources (see, e.g., "Book of Lecan," p. 41). Ollarfiord. Wolderfrith, Wulvricksfiord. Early tradition in Annals, A.D. 296: The High King, Cairbre Liffeachair, was succeeded by two brothers not of the royal house; one slew the other, and was himself slain at Ollarba, in Maghline (Ann. Clonmacnois, and Roderic O'Flaherty's "Ogygia"). Also see under 565 for weird story of the mermaid, Liban, caught at Ollarba (Chron. Scotorum and Mart. Donegal). Olderflete is the usual name in the State

LANGRA; 1450; Laftar 1373. *Irish*, Latharna. Larne, Co. Antrim.

ROSO, 1373, 1384. South from N.E. corner of Antrim, probably Red Bay, Cushendall, Co. Antrim.

NORTH COAST FROM EAST.

BONAMARGY, mones, 1339; moneth, 1351, 1467, 1497, 1513; manoxi, 1367; munax, 1373; momer, 1384; monexi, 1426; momolag, 1544; momo arger, 1569; Bonamergh, 1590; momulus, 1593; Mouarg, 1609. Bonamargy, Co. Antrim.

DUNSEVERICK, dunsobrin, 1327, 1339, 1385, 1497; dunsobrinin, 1360; cap dunsobri, 1367[1]; . . . nsob, 1375; cauo ikibusubrin, 1373; cauo de donsobrin, 1384; donssebrin, 1426; dunsobri, 1559; donsobrin, 1436, 1555; donsobry, 1513.[2] *Irish*, Dun Sobhairce. Dunseverick. Co. Antrim.[2]

RATHLIN ragri, 1339, 1367; abrini, 1384; ragrany, 1426; ragrini, 1497, 1513; Racklyn, 1589; Raghlins, 1590. *Irish*, Rechrann,[3] Rathlin Island, Antrim.

ROSNIE, 1384, and AMAIBRI 1436, between Dunseverick and Portrush; perhaps the Bush and Port Ballintra, Co. Antrim.

PORTRUSH, Prosso, 1327, 1436; Portorosso, 1339; Porta rosa (or resa), 1351, 1375, 1367, 1384; P. roso, 1373; P. rosoe, 1467; P^{o}rosso, 1552; P. rossa, 1497; drosso, 1513; Portrushe, 1570, 1589, 1590. Portrush, Co. Antrim.

Papers and Rolls, e.g. Olderflit, 1569, Irish map and reservation of Olderfleet Haven from the grant to Angus McDonnell, May, 1586 (See Cal. S.P.I. for that year, pp. 58, 69, 125).

[1] Cauo bon sobrin, 1490.

[2] Sobhairche was an early monarch (*circa* B.C. 1500), says legend; but does the *sobarche*, or St. John's wort, grow near the fort? we have Duntraneen and Duneenapisha. Long identified wrongly with Carrickfergus; this error is revived without correction in the new edition of MacSkimin's "History of Carrickfergus." Some recent scholars have identified it with the Doon of Murlough east from Bonamargy; but the early maps place it either to the west of Bonamargy or (the same result) to the south-west of Rathlin; while Baptist Boazio, in a map dedicated to Queen Elizabeth soon after 1588, shows "Donsereg" between Cave Head and Whit Bay (to the east), and Dunluse (to the west), i.e. far west from "mo bonamerghe." I find no corroboration for the most recent "identification" anywhere. This confirms O'Donovan's identification with Dunseverick.

[3] Ptolemy's Rikina. Irish, Rachra (Rachran), Rochrinne, corruptly Raghery. Lambay originally bore the same name, which only survives on the opposite mainland at Portrane (Portrechrainn); it was Rachra in East Bregia; (see also Adamnan, (*Rechru*), and Irish Nennius, p. 127). The harbour was still Portrahern in 1308 (Dr. Joyce, "Irish Names," ser. 1, part 2, map 1). Strange to say, neither appeared in the *Portolans*.

Bann, laibani, 1327; le ban, 1339, 1351, 1426; laiban, 1360; Flu nilibano, 1367; leban, 1373; lebani, 1375; lebano, 1436; f. bani, 1467; libain, 1513; eleban, 1552; Banne, 1589; Ban, 1570, 1590. River Bann, Co. Londonderry.

Libara, "bra," 1367 (west of Bann); lebita, 1426. Perhaps *Irish*, Leathbarr, Liffer, Lifford.

Inscs, 1436, after Bann; lunivm, 1426, after lebita; falini, 1436, after insca; aullus, 1426; Scogius, 1426. Unknown places; probably in Tirconnell, Co. Donegal.

St. Patrick's Purgatory, purgatoriū sancti patricii, 1413; purgatorio de S. patrizio, 1459. It appears in the anonymous catalan planisphere about 1450 as "prgtori," next "Insula de triconell"; terasanta (?), 1426. St. Patrick's Purgatory, Donegal.

Tirconnell Isles, ytricinal, 1327; Insula de terconel, 1339; yterconel, 1351; Insula detriconel, 1375; triconel, 1384, 1497; Insule desconal, 1385; ye triconel, 1426; y. de ticonn, 1436; laionel, 1513; triconell, 1552. Islands off Kilmacrenan Barony—Torry, Inishdooeg, Inishbofin, and Inishsirrer.

Head of Tirconnell, cauo trichonel, 1490.

Torry, Co. Donegal, Torta, 1373; torci, 1500; Toreii, 1516. Torry Island, Co. Donegal.[1]

Dachvli, Insula dachuli, 1339; daceli, 1448; dathuli, 1513; daculi, 1552. An imaginary island, perhaps Rockall (Rokell and Rakall on Elizabethan maps); or (as Professor MacNeill suggests) Dicuil's Isle. Hardly Inistrahull.[2]

12. Appendix.

(I) Irish Maps in British Museum, &c.—Ptolemy, late xiv cent. No. 2, Iouernia nesos Brettanike (Burny III); copy of Fra Mauro's planisphere, 1459 (Add. 11695); Grazioso Benincasa, 1467 (Add. 11547); No. 431, his Portolano, 1468 (Add. 6390); Venetian Portolano, *circa* 1489. No. 4, coast of Ir. (Egerton, 73); Ancona chart, 1529 (Add. 11548); Portolan, *circa* 1530 (Add. 9947); Atlas, French, 1536 (Add. 5413); Venetian Portolan, *circa* 1550, No. 2 (Eg. 767); Portolan by Diego Homen, 1558 (Add. 5415). Ireland, *temp.* Eliz. (Cotton, Aug., 1114); maps by John Martines, Messina, 1582 (Add. 5019). I will only add these maps—Ireland, *temp.* Hen. VIII (Cotton. Aug.), Dean Nowell's maps, *circa* 1570 (Harl.). "Ireland," (vol. i), No. 29, general,

[1] Torach in Irish; Thorach in Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topog. Hib."

[2] De la Cosa's map of 1500 has "origud," "bcot" and bulce. The first may be from a defaced Stariford or Strangford. I cannot suggest what the others represent.

annotated by Sir W. Cecil. (II) Kenmare to Dunmanus. (III) Munster after 1565 (No. 2), addenda to 1582, by Cecil. (IV) Strangford to Carlingford, 1566 (No. 60). (V) Several by J. Goghe, 1567; Mourne, Idrone, and Thomond, parts of Co. Limerick, 1571. (VI) Dublin to Carrickfergus (No. 19). (VII) Idrone, Munster, &c., after 1580 (No. 20). (VIII) Ulster (No. 23), Antrim to Foyle (21). (IX) The Owles, Burrishowle, Irres, Tyrawley, Claremorris, &c., Co. Mayo (No. 25). (X) Spanish fort, Smerwick, 1580. (XI) Castle Mang, Co. Kerry. I only occasionally use the well-known Elizabethan map, 1569.[1]

The chief of the Hardiman Maps in Trinity College, Dublin, as here used, are Nos. 1 and 2, elaborate maps of Ireland—after 1590, anonymous. No. 1 is about 1609–12. No. 6, Sea chart of Munster and Leinster. No. 7, Leinster, No. 11, Duncannon Fort, Co. Waterford. No. 14, Ulster, by Mr. Griffin of the ship "Tryemontane." No. 15, Ulster, F. Jobson, 1590 (also Nos. 16 and 17). No. 22, Lough Foyle. No. 23, East coast. No. 21, parts of Ulster and Leinster. No. 36, Munster, F. Jobson, 1589. No. 37, Munster. No. 38, Munster and Cork city, Speed, 1610. No. 43, Co. Cork. No. 56, Co. Limerick, F. Jobson, *circa* 1580. No. 57, a remarkable detailed map of Limerick city, 1590. No. 63, Shannon mouth. No. 64, Waterford city and harbour, and Duncannon. No. 67, Youghal, Co. Cork. No. 68, Connacht, 1600; also, No. 69 and 70—last by Speed, 1610. No. 72, Gallway Fort. No. 73, Galway city after 1660. See also the List of Maps by W. Reeves, Bishop of Down. No. 1080, same library.

IMPORTS, 1420–1430.

The Libel of English Policy (1416–1438), in Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" (vol. i), throws much light on the directions from which various goods were imported about 1420–30. From Spain and Flanders, figs, dates, raisins, wine, oil, &c., saffron, and quicksilver. From Portugal, wine, figs, raisins, honey, cork, dates, and salt hides. From Brittany, cloth of gold, silk, pepper, cotton, &c. Venice and Florence, spicery and grocery, sweet wines, "apes, japes, and marmusets tayled," "niffles and triffles," and drugs. From Ireland, hides, salmon, hake, herring, wool and linen cloth, falding; martens', otters', squirrels' and Irish hares' skins; harts' hides, sheep, lamb, and kid

[1] Published in "State Papers," vol. ii (1834). It is, however, of little help, being a mere sketch-map; and the names are only of the chief features, and rarely exhibit unusual or instructive forms. Inishdaggell, off the N. coast of Donegal, is possibly Insula dachuli; Vederflit haue is Larne. It calls (wrongly) Hook Tower the "Tower of Waterford."

skins, "at Waterford, and costes many are and (as men sayne in England) be there none better havens." A jeweller in London attested Irish gold to be excellent. The poet then bids England to keep Ireland, for it is a "boterasse" and a post under England and Wales; "and God forbid but each were other's brother"! Also, "cherish marchandize, keep the admiraltie, that we be masters of the narrow sea."[1]

Corrigenda to Paper on Brasil.

P. 230, note 3, for *Oxoniensis* read *Oxoniensia*. Note 4, for *Brecani* read *Brendani*; for *O'Hanlon* read *O'Donoghue*. P. 233, note[2], for *Terram* read *Terrarum*. P. 239, lines 22, 23, for the "buss of Emanuel Frobisher's fleet" read the "buss Emanuel of Frobisher's fleet."

[1] I have to thank Mr. James Mills, I.S.O. (Deputy-Keeper of the Records of Ireland), Mr. M. J. McEnery, and Mr. Herbert Wood for many valuable suggestions as to sources of information in the Records. The second also assisted me with some identifications of the place-names. The last gave me several notes and added to many other acts of kindness that of reading portions of these proofs. I have also to acknowledge the kind permission of the Board of Trinity College, through Rev. T. K. Abbott, D.D., and Mr. A. C. De Burgh, in permitting me to publish photographs of the map of Baptist Agnesi, a late but neat and typical portolan of the second type (1450–1570). Mr. T. W. Lyster took much pains to help me with the maps of the National Library.

Angelino Dulcert, 1339.

Jacobus Giroldis, 1426

Westropp.—Early Italian Maps of Ireland.

The Upsal Map. *circa* 1450.

Juan de la Cosa, 1500.

The Argentine "Ptolemy," 1513.

Georgius Calapoda, 1552.

Baptist Agnesi's Map (Trinity College, Dublin), 1544.